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MEMOIR

OF

JOHN ENDECOTT,

FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY:

BY

CHARLES M. ENDICOTT,

A DESCENDANT OF THE SEVENTH GENERATION:

BEING ALSO

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONY,

FROM 1628 TO 1665.

"Patria cara, carior libertas."

"And Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, said unto him, [Joshua] Forty years old was I, when Moses, the servant of the Lord, sent me from Kadesh-barnea to espy out the land; and I brought him word again as it was in mine heart. And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land whereon thy feet hath trodden shall be thine inheritance and thy children's forever, because thou hast wholly followed the Lord my God.—JOSHUA, ch. 14, v. 6, 7, 9.

SALEM:
PRINTED AT THE OBSERVER OFFICE.
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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth — Early Life — Profession — Marriage — Family Relations — Unites in the Purchase of a Grant for the Settlement of Massachusetts Bay — Sails from England — Doggrel in honor of him — Reflections — Arrives at Naumkeag — Settlement of Salem. . Page 11.

CHAPTER II.

Age at the time of his Emigration — Constitution — Import of his first Letters — Old Planters not satisfied — Compromise with them — Suggests various things for the benefit of the Colony — Confirmed Governor — His Orchard — Old Pear Tree — Model of Government — His Temperament — Sickness among the Planters — Death of his Wife — Letter to Gov. Bradford — Visits Mt. Wollaston. . . . . Page 19.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton — Description of the Settlement at the time — Church Established — Troubles with the Brownes — Sends them to England — Proposals in England to transfer the Government to this Country — Agreed upon — John Winthrop chosen Governor — Sickness and Distress in the Colony — Gov. Winthrop arrives — Situation of the Colony at this time. . . . . Page 30.

CHAPTER IV.

New Settlers displeased with Salem — Jealousies towards the Plymouth Settlement — Endecott's second Marriage — Newton the Capital — Higginson's death — Roger Williams — Letter to Governor Winthrop — Subjects of the Letter considered — Winthrop visits Salem — Sachem Wahquamachet visits the Colony. . . . . Page 37.

CHAPTER V.

His Farm Granted him — Description — Scenery — Roger Williams returns to Salem — Ladies' Veils — Colonists troubled by news from England — Cuts the Cross from the King's Colors — Doings thereupon — The Sword preserved — Trouble arising out of the settlement of Mr. Williams — Mr. Endecott committed for contempt — Commands an Expedition against the Block Island and Pequot Indians — His views about the Cross triumph. . . Page 45.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Williams banished — Hutchinson troubles — Colonists fear an Aristocracy — Hugh Peter sent to England as Agent — Endecott chosen Deputy Governor — Troubles with D'Aulney and La Tour — Letter to Winthrop — Ipswich Remonstrance — Letter to Governor Winthrop in his justification — Letter about the troubles at Gloucester — Confederation formed — Troubles with "Chaddock" — Castle in Boston Harbor rebuilt — Superstition of the Times. Page 60.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Endecott Governor — Improvements in the Legislature — Misunderstandings there — D'Aulney and La Tour troubles settled — Civil War rages in England — Perplexities arising therefrom in the Colony — Introduction of Free Schools — Succeeded as Governor by Dudley — Appointed Sergeant Major General and Commissioner — Letter to Governor Winthrop — Copper Mine. . . . . Page 74.

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of Winthrop — Chosen Governor — Troubles during his Administration — Protest against Long Hair — Mint established — Removes to Boston — Grant of Land on Ipswich and Merrimack Rivers — Letter to John Leverett. . . . . Page 81.

CHAPTER IX.

Prosperity and Trade of the Colony — Quaker Difficulties —His conduct vindicated — Grant of one fourth of Block Island — His conduct to the Indians. . . . . Page 87.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Oliver Cromwell — Restoration of the Stuart Family — Complaints against the Colonists — Letter to John Leverett, Colonial Agent in England — Charles II. proclaimed King — Mandamus for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe — His Letter to the Earl of Clarendon thereupon — Explanation of his conduct. . . . . Page 94.

CHAPTER XI.

Dissolves his Connexion with the Salem Church — His Death and Burial — Not a favorite with Charles the Second — Reasons therefor — His fearless and independent spirit — Reflections at the close of his life — Situation of his Family at the time of his Death — Male Descendants — Character of the Colonists generally. . . . . Page 102.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

It is now upwards of two centuries and a quarter since the despotic sway of the English Sovereigns over the consciences of their subjects, induced all who entertained different sentiments from those of the established church, to turn their eyes towards the wilderness of America as an asylum from the unnatural persecutions of the Mother Country.

With this view, some of the principal men among those who had already sought a refuge in Holland, commenced treating with the Virginia Company, and at the same time took measures to ascertain whether the King would grant them liberty of conscience should they remove thither. They ultimately effected a satisfactory arrangement with the Company, but from James they could obtain no public recognition of religious liberty, but merely a promise that if they behaved peaceably he would not molest them on account of their religious opinions.

On the 6th of September, 1620, a detachment from the Church at Leyden set sail from Plymouth for the Virginia territory, but owing to the treachery of the master,[1] they were landed at Cape Cod, and ultimately at Plymouth, on the 11th day of December following. Finding themselves without the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, they established a distinct

[1] It is so stated in the N. E. Mem. The Planters' Plea notices it rather as the effect of accident, from the prevailing winds, than any design on the part of the master.

government for themselves. In the year 1624, the success of this plantation was so favorably represented in the West of England, that the Rev. John White, a distinguished minister in Dorchester, prevailed upon some merchants and others to undertake another settlement in New England. Having provided a common stock, they sent over several persons to begin a plantation at Cape Ann, where they were joined by some disaffected individuals from the Plymouth settlement. This project was soon abandoned as unprofitable, and a portion of the settlers removed westward within the territory of Naumkeag, which then extended to what is now Manchester. By the intercession and great exertions of Mr. White, the project of a settlement in this neighborhood was not altogether relinquished, and a new company was soon afterwards formed. One of this company, and the principal one to carry its objects into immediate effect, was the subject of this Memoir. He was in the *strictest* sense of the word, a *Puritan;* a sect composed, as an able foreign writer has said, of the "most remarkable body of men which perhaps the world has ever produced. They were men whose minds had derived a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging in general terms an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the Great Being for whose power nothing was too vast, for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him, was with them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the homage of the soul. — On the rich and the eloquent, on nobles and priests they looked down with contempt; for they esteemed themselves rich in a more precious treasure, and eloquent in a more sublime language; nobles by the right of an earlier creation, and priests by the imposition of a mightier hand."

The following pages, commemorative of the life and character of Gov. Endecott, are intended only for the partial eye of his descendants, merely as a private family record. We trust, therefore, that all proper allowances will be made for imperfection in style or language, bearing in mind that the author makes no pretensions to elegant diction, or literary accomplishments of any kind. In portraying the character of his first American ancestor, he has attempted merely a plain statement of facts, without any effort to dress them up in the fascinating garb of high wrought imagery or romantic conceptions. In his labor to effect this, he has been encouraged by the example of Old Mortality, who "considered himself as fulfilling a sacred duty while renewing to the eyes of posterity the decaying emblems of the zeal and sufferings of their forefathers, and thereby trimming, as it were, the beacon-light which was to warn future generations to defend their religion even unto blood."

C. M. E.

Salem, Mass., 1847.

Note. — The author in compiling this Memoir, besides drawing upon family tradition and public records, has been largely indebted to Felt's Annals of Salem; and has also derived much assistance from Savage's Winthrop, Morton's N. E. Mem., Hazard's Coll., Planters' Plea, Mass. Hist. Coll., and various other works of a similar character, all which he has intended to mention in his notes of reference; but lest in some instances he has inadvertently omitted it, he now makes this acknowledgement.

TO

THE POSTERITY

OF

JOHN ENDECOTT, Esq.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

AND WHO FOR MANY YEARS

SERVED THAT INFANT SETTLEMENT AS A FAITHFUL AND DEVOTED GUIDE AND FRIEND,

IN VARIOUS OFFICES OF HONOR AND TRUST,

THIS MEMOIR

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth — Early Life — Profession — Marriage — Family Relations — Unites in the Purchase of a Grant for the Settlement of Massachusetts Bay — Sails from England — Doggrel in honor of him — Reflections — Arrives at Naumkeag — Settlement of Salem

"He is nobly born—
Whom nature at his birth, endowed with virtuous qualities."

John Endecott, whose name is so intimately associated with the first settlement of this country, and with whose early history his own is so closely inwoven, that in the language of the late Reverend and learned Dr. Bentley,[1] "above all others he deserved the name of *the* Father of New England," was born in Dorchester, Dorsetshire, England, in the year 1588. He was a man of good intellectual endowments and mental culture, possessed of a vigorous mind and a fearless and independent spirit, which well fitted him for the various and trying duties he was destined to perform. Of his early life and private and domestic character, little is known; neither are we much better informed as to his parentage, except that his family was of respectable standing and moderate fortunes. He belonged to that class in England, called esquires or gentlemen, composed mostly at that period of the independent landholders of the realm. With the exception, therefore, of a few leading incidents, we are reluctantly obliged to pass over nearly the whole period of Mr. Endecott's

[1] Bentley's Letter to the Elder Adams, among the Mss. of the Mass. Hist. Society.

life, previous to his engaging in the enterprise for the settlement of New England. History is almost silent upon the subject, and the tradition of the family has been but imperfectly transmitted and preserved. His letters, the only written productions which are left us, furnish internal evidence that he was a man of liberal education and cultivated mind. There are proofs of his having been, at some period of his life, a surgeon;[1] yet as he is always alluded to, in the earliest records of the Massachusetts Company, by the title of Captain, there can be no doubt whatever that at some time previous to his emigration to this country he had held a commission in the army; and his subsequently passing through the several military grades, to that of Sergeant Major General of Massachusetts, justifies this conclusion; while the causes which led to this change in his profession cannot now be ascertained.

While a resident in London, he married a lady of an influential family by the name of Anna Gouer, by whom it is understood he had no children. She was cousin to Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the Massachusetts Company in England. If tradition be correct, the circumstances which brought about this connexion, were similar to those which are related of John Alden and Miles Standish.[2] Some needle work wrought by this lady, is still preserved in the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society.[3] Mr. Endecott was also brother-in-law to Roger Ludlow, Assistant and Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Colony in the year 1634, and afterwards famous in the settlement of New Haven.

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[1] The Rev. Mr. Felt has recently found among some papers at the State House, Boston, a bill made out in Gov. Endecott's own hand writing and presented to the General Court for the cure of a man committed to his care: he there styles himself "Chirurgeon."

[2] Vide New England Memoir, p. 263.

[3] Deposited there by the author, in 1828.

But Mr. Endecott's highest claim to distinction rests upon the fact that he was an intrepid and successful leader of the Pilgrims, and the earliest pioneer of the Massachusetts settlement under the Patent. His name is found enrolled among the very foremost of that noble band, the Fathers and Founders of New England: — those pious and devout men, who, firm in faith and trusting in God, went fearlessly forward in the daring enterprise, and hewed their homes and their altars out of the wild and tangled forest, where they could worship "the God of their fathers agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences." Such was the persecution to which the non-conformists in England were at this period subjected, that the works of nature were the only safe witnesses of their devotions. Deriving no honor, so far as we know, from the dozing halls of ancestry, Mr. Endecott was the architect of his own fame, and won the laurels which encircle his name amid sacrifices, sufferings, and trials, better suited to adorn an historical romance, than to accompany a plain tale of real life.

Under the guidance and influence of the Rev. Mr. Skelton, he embraced the principles of the Puritans; and in the beginning of the year 1628, associated himself with Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Simon Whetcomb, John Humphrey, and Thomas Southcoat, in the purchase of a grant "by a considerable sum of money,"[1] for the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, from the Plymouth Council in England. This grant was subsequently confirmed by Patent from Charles the First. He was one of the original patentees, and the first of that Company who emigrated to this country.[2]

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[1] Hubbard's Indian Narrative, p. 4.

[2] * * * "some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured

Whatever may have been the objects of the first settlers generally in colonizing New England, there can be no doubt that *his* was, the establishment of their own forms of church government and discipline, in a place where they might live under them unmolested, and enjoy Christ and his ordinances in their primitive purity. With him it was wholly a religious enterprise.

He sailed from Weymouth in the ship Abigail, Henry Gauden master, on the 20th June, 1628. On board this little vessel with himself and wife, lie enclosed the germ of that colony which was destined hereafter to exert an important influence upon the social freedom of the whole world, in a company of about one hundred planters. The following extract from "Johnson's Wonder Working Providence," will illustrate the estimation in which he was held at this period: "The much honoured John Indicat came over with them, to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served. And now let no man be offended at the Author's rude Verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory the Names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himselfe, in this unwonted worke of his.

"*John Endicat, twice Governur of the English, inhabiting the Mattachusets Bay in N. England.*

"Stroog valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up station first,
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust;
Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, then plant his Churches pure,
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure;

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to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered, which gave great encouragement," etc.—*Planters' Plea.*

Undaunted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast:
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's tast.
Then honored be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted:
To shew their love in place above, his people have thee voted.
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,
Thou rotting worme to dust must turn, and worse but for new birth."

He was made deeply sensible by the Company's instructions that much was expected from his exertions, and the impotency of this small beginning to colonize a new country, magnificent as it has been in its results, must have appeared to him almost appalling. It was an enterprise which he knew must be pursued under every privation and difficulty, and achieved only with great distress, suffering and fatigue. How conflicting must have been the emotions which filled the breasts of this "forlorn hope" of the Puritan party, as they stood for the last time upon the shores of their native country and exchanged the parting look and embrace with kindred and friends! And when by a transition almost imperceptible to their bewildered senses, they found themselves launched upon the watery element, and those shores fast receding from their sight! when, too, for the first time, night gathered around, and the feeling crept over them that they were indeed alone upon the deep, with none but the all-seeing eye of their Maker to watch them in their progress upon the trackless ocean, towards a distant and unexplored country! how devoutly and fervently must they have prayed that he "who holds the waters in the hollow of his hand, who rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm," would guide in safety their little bark on its solitary way! Behind them they had left a land which indeed they called their own, their "father land," but stript of its endearments and hallowed associations by the recollection of wrongs and chastisements endured there for conscience sake! Before them, all was wrapped in obscurity and gloom. But under the benign influences

of that religious faith, which had led them to peril every earthly interest, the star of hope, like the pillar of fire to the Israelites, guided them on their way, and supported them in the belief, that God who "tempers the winds to the shorn lamb," would not forsake them in their helplessness. They arrived in safety at Naumkeag, the place of their destination, on the 6th of September following.[1]

To this Company, under Endecott, belongs the honor of having formed the first permanent and legally recognized settlement at this place. We do not pretend, however, that they were the *first* white men who ever trod the soil; for we know when Endecott landed on these shores, he found here a few fishermen and others, the remnant of a planting, trading and fishing establishment previously commenced at Cape Ann, under the auspices of some gentlemen belonging to Dorchester, his native place, but soon abandoned for want of success. Their leader, the Rev. John Lyford, had already emigrated to Virginia, and those of that company who removed their effects hither, consisted at that time of some five or six persons, most of whom were seceders from the settlement at Plymouth. They were, however, only sojourners, disaffected

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[1] A fancy sketch of their first landing is thus drawn by the Annalist of Salem:

"Striking indeed, must have been the scene on this occasion. The islands and main shores are covered with wood, thronged with their wild inhabitants. The harbor abounds with sportive fish far exceeding the wants of the adjacent settlers. The new Governor with his wife and friends near the strand which they had ardently wished to behold. On one side the old planters with the benevolent Conant at their head. On another the Indians with their minor Sagamore and his guardian before them. Those on the land gaze intently on the new comers as they approach. Every one receives a silent impression of the stranger as he looks upon his face. The thoughts and feelings of the whole Company are out of the common course. The doings and emotions of that day were never effaced from his memory. It was no ordinary theme for the pencil of the artist. Its well drawn sketch would deserve to be classed with that of the Pilgrims at the Rock of Plymouth."

with the place, and requiring all the interest and entreaties of the Rev. John White, a noted minister in Dorchester, to prevent them from forsaking it altogether and following Mr. Lyford to Virginia. But higher motives and deeper purposes fired the souls, and stimulated the hearts of Mr. Endecott and his friends to commence this settlement, and to form new homes for themselves and their posterity in this wilderness, before which the mere considerations of traffic and gain, sink into comparative insignificance. It was the love of religion implanted deep in the heart, that gave impulse and permanency to the settlement of Naumkeag, and the Massachusetts Colony generally; and the commencement of this era, was the arrival of Endecott, with the first detachment of those holy and devout men, who valued earthly pursuits only so far as they were consistent with religion. It was also at this period, that a sort of definite reality was imparted to this region. Previously, all idea of it had floated in the mind like vague and loose fantasies, as a sort of "terra incognita," situated somewhere in the wilderness of America. But the arrival of the Pilgrims at this time, dispelled the uncertainty in which it had before been wrapped, and at the same time threw around it the warmest sympathies, and most earnest solicitude, of large numbers who had now become deeply interested in its welfare. We therefore consider the landing of Endecott at this place, as emphatically the commencement of its permanent settlement as an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed of the Mother Country. All previous visitors were comparatively adventurers, with motives and purposes widely different from those of that little band, who first rested upon this spot on the 6th of September, 1628.[1] On that day, if I

[1] During this whole lustre of years, from 1625, there was little matter of moment acted in the Massachusetts, till the year 1629, after the obtaining the patent; the former years

may so speak, was breathed into the settlement of Naumkeag the breath of life, and it became as it were, endowed with a living soul, — folding within its embrace the dearest interests and most cherished rights of humanity.[1] Although destined to be eclipsed, in splendor and importance, by her more fortunate neighbor, and younger sister, the Metropolis, yet to stand unrivalled in the interest she will ever excite, as the most ancient town in the Massachusetts Patent.

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being spent in fishing and trading, by the Dorchester merchants and some others, in the West country.—*Hubbard's Narrative. Mass. Hist. Coll.* 2—5, 110.

[1] We are indebted to Wood's N. England Prospect, published in London in 1634, for the following early description of Salem: "Four miles north-east from Saugus, lieth *Salem*, which stands on the middle of a neck of land very pleasantly, having a South River on one side, and a North River on the other side. Upon this neck, where the most of the houses stand, is very bad and sandy ground. Yet, for seven years together, it hath brought forth exceeding good corn, by being fished, but every third year. In some places is very good ground, and very good timber, and divers springs, hard by the sea-side. Here, likewise, is store of fish, as basses, eels, lobsters, clams, &c. Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond those rivers is very good soil, where they have taken farms, and get in their hay, and plant their corn. — It hath two good harbors, the one being called Winter, and the other Summer harbor, which lieth within Darby's fort; which place if it be well fortified, might keep ships from landing of forces in any of those two places."

CHAPTER II.

Age at the time of his Emigration — Constitution — Import of his first Letters — Old Planters not satisfied — Compromise with them — Suggests various things for the benefit of the Colony — Confirmed Governor — His Orchard — Old Pear Tree — Model of Government — His Temperament — Sickness among the Planters — Death of his Wife — Letter to Gov. Bradford — Visits Mt. Wollaston.

At the period of Mr. Endecott's emigration, he was just forty years[1] of age, possessed of a firm and robust constitution, well calculated to contend with the hardships and privations, which met the first pioneers of this western wilderness at every step. His health was, however, gradually undermined, no doubt by the influence of the climate, as we learn by his frequent intimations of bodily infirmity, in his letters to Gov. Winthrop and others. From his first landing on these shores, until the time of his death, his history is full of incident. In this new field of duty, he was destined to perform not only a conspicuous, but a very responsible part in the drama of life. "His various talents, attainments and virtues were to be severely tested." From henceforth almost every action was to stand out in bold relief upon the pages of history, to be conned over by future generations, while unfortunately for his fame, the motives which influenced and controlled many of the most important, were never recorded, and are now known only to the great searcher of all hearts.

His first letters, written a few days after his arrival at Naumkeag,

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[1] See title page.

speak in very encouraging terms of the new country, which was to be his future home, and for which he had forsaken the fair and fertile fields of Old England, and torn asunder all the ties which bound him to his native land. These tidings were like balm to the wounded spirits of those in England, who were watching with intense anxiety, the success of this experiment to effect a settlement in the New World. We can never cease to regret that these letters have not been preserved. They would have been valuable documentary evidence of how much the Massachusetts Colony owed him for its success in these incipient stages of its existence. Had he drawn an unfavorable picture, the settlement would no doubt have been greatly retarded, if not altogether abandoned for the time. But "the good report he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that more adventurers joined with the first undertakers. — Uniting his own men with those who were formerly planted in the Colony into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons."[1] On Mr. Endecott's arrival, he made known to the planters who preceded him, that he and his associate patentees, had purchased all the property and privileges of the Dorchester partners, both here and at Cape Ann. He shortly after removed from the latter place, for his own private residence, the frame house, which a few years before had been erected there by the Dorchester Company. It was a tasteful edifice of two stories high, and of the prevailing order of architecture of that period, called the Elizabethean, which was but of slight remove from the Gothic. Some of its hard oak frame may still be found in the building at the corner of Washington and Church streets, commonly known at this day as the "Endicott House,"[2] but so changed in its external appearance that not

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[1] Planters' Plea, 1630.

[2] Within a few years, some of the timbers in the cellar of this house, were found marked I. E. with small nails.

a vestige of the original style of architecture remains. It occupied, no doubt, the same site as at present; the meeting house being afterwards built directly opposite, and the dwelling of Hugh Peter in the same vicinity.

The alteration which now took place in the affairs of the infant colony, did not meet with favor from the first planters, and for a while prevented perfect harmony from prevailing in the settlement. "One of the subjects of discord was the propriety of raising tobacco. Mr. Endecott and his council believing such a production, except for medicinal purposes, injurious both to health and morals." Besides this, they probably viewed with no favorable eye, the agreement in sentiment between Mr. Endecott and the Plymouth Church as to the propriety of abolishing the ritual forms of worship of the Church of England; for an adherence to which they had already been obliged to leave the Plymouth settlement. Mr. Endecott represented these difficulties to the home government, and in answer to his communication they say, "That it may appear as well to all the worlde, as to the old planters themselves, that we seke not to make them slaves, as it seems by your letter some of them think themselves to be become by means of our patent, they are allowed to be partakers with us in all the privileges we have with so much labor and intercession obtained from the King; to be incorporated into the society, and enjoy not only those lands which formerly they have manured, but such a further proportion as the civil authorities think best." They were also allowed the *exclusive* privilege of raising their favorite weed — tobacco.

The Company's Court in London, actuated by that true sense of justice which ever marked its deliberations, were determined not to trespass on any of the rights of the aborigines; and to this purpose

in their two first communications to Mr. Endecott, they desired him to take especial care, "that no wrong or injury be offered by any of our people to the natives there," and to satisfy every just claim which might be made by them to the territory of Naumkeag and the plantation generally. To this record the sons of the Pilgrims have ever turned with peculiar pride and exultation. Felt says, "from his well known promptitude and high sense of equity, there can be no doubt that he fulfilled every iota of such instructions." Mr. Endecott, in his first letters to the home government, suggested various things to advance the interests of the Colony; such as the manufacture of salt, cultivation of vineyards, sending over fruit stones and kernels, grain for seed, wheat, barley and rye; also certain domesticated animals; all of which were shortly after transported to this country.

The answer to this letter is dated the 19th of April, 1629, wherein they inform him, that the Company 'are much enlarged since his departure out of England,' and for the further strengthening of their grant from the Council at Plymouth, they had obtained a confirmation of it from his Majesty by his letters patents, under the broad seal of England; incorporating them into a body politic, with ample powers to govern and rule all his Majesty's subjects that reside within the limits of their plantation; and that, in prosecution of the good opinion they have always entertained of him, they have confirmed him Governor of the Colony. No adventitious circumstances of fortune or birth aided him in his appointment to this, even then responsible office; for although the Colony at this time was few in numbers and feeble in effort, yet in its success were involved the most momentous interests, and every thing depended upon the right impulse and direction being given to its affairs. In the words of the Record, "having taken into due consideration, the

meritt, *worth*, and *good desert* of Captain John Endecott, and others lately gone over from hence, with purpose to resyde and continue there, wee have with full consent and authoritie of this Court, and by creccon of hands, chosen and elected the said Captain John Endecott to the place of present Governour of said Plantation." They further speak of the confidence they repose in him, in thus committing the affairs of the Colony into his hands. Gov. Cradock also compliments him upon his motives and conduct; and the Company inform him, that they are disappointed of the provisions ordered to be sent for himself and Mrs. Endecott, but (God willing,) they purpose to send them by the next vessel.[1] It is also believed that at this time Mr. Endecott ordered the fruit trees which afterwards constituted his orchard upon the farm granted him in 1632, of which one venerable patriarch, the celebrated old pear tree, yet remains, having withstood the "peltings of pitiless storms," of upwards of two hundred winters, and still dropping down its rich fruit into the bosoms of his distant descendants.[2]

In a second letter dated the 28th of May following, the Company remark: "Wee have sithence our last, and according as we there advised, at a *full* and *ample* Court assembled, *elected* and *established* you, Captain John Endecott, to the place of present Governour of our

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[1] Hazard's Coll. We find in May, 1629, a committee was appointed to "consider what provisions are now fit to be sent over to Capt. John Endecott and his family, and provide the same accordingly." — *Comp. Rec. in Eng.*

[2] This tree bears the marks of great antiquity. Its beauty and comeliness have long since departed; its trunk for upwards of fifty years, has been hollow and rising out of the earth in three distinct parts; its limbs low, short and disproportioned. As a whole it presents a very dwarfish, and to all but the lovers of antiquity, a very uninteresting appearance. Eight generations of Governor Endicott's descendants have eaten of its fruit, and been cooled beneath its branches. According to family tradition, his dial, which bears the date of 1630, and these trees, were imported at the same time.

Plantation there, as also some others to be of the Council with you, as more particularly you will perceive by an Act of Court herewith sent, confirmed by us at a General Court, and sealed with our common seal."

The model of the Government established by this "Act of Court," consisted of a Governor, and twelve persons as a Council, styled "The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England. They were to elect a Deputy Governor, for the time being, from among their number; were also authorized to choose a Secretary and other needful officers. They were empowered to fill vacancies in their body occasioned by death or otherwise. The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy, might call Courts at pleasure, and they had power to establish any laws, not at variance with those of England; 'to administer justice upon malefactors, and inflict condign punishment upon all offenders.' To make any act valid the Governor, or his Deputy, was always to vote with the majority. A form of Oath was sent over at this time to be administered to Mr. Endicott as Governor, and one also for the other officers of the government. He took the oath, and was inducted into office. Here then, we conceive, is direct and incontrovertible testimony that Endecott was appointed the *first* Governor of Massachusetts under its Colonial Charter from the King. It is so stated by Joselyn, Hutchinson, and Prince. He received a copy of that Charter, and the documentary evidence of his constitutional authority as Governor, both at the same time. It was reserved for writers of the present age to endeavor to deprive him of this distinction. The motives which stimulate these attempts to pervert the most obvious facts, are not easily discerned. The actors in those scenes have long since passed away, and with them all their temporal honors. Posterity at this distance of time can therefore afford without

prejudice, or any personal preferences or favoritism, to be consistent,[1] ingenuous and impartial. To Mr. Endecott was given at this time, all the powers which his immediate successors ever exercised. They were conferred upon him, too, by the same body who *subsequently* elected Mr. Winthrop to that office. The abolishment of the board of control in England, and the transfer of "the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there,"[2] and instead of choosing the Colonial Governors in Old England, by members of the Company there, to choose them by members of the same Company, who were in New England, could not weaken the validity of his claim to be considered the first Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. To institute a special course of argument to deprive him of this distinction, while it is conceded to all other Governors under similar circumstances, would, says Felt, "be contrary to the dictates of correct philology and sound reason."[3]

It was well for Mr. Endecott, that he possessed an ardent and sanguine temperament, which nothing could daunt, otherwise the innumerable discouraging circumstances which met him in this, his new abode in every form, amid sickness, death and privations of every kind, well suited to appal the stoutest hearts, would no doubt have wrought their

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[1] Mr. Young in his Chronicles of Mass. Note 1, p. 105, speaks of John Winthrop as the *first* Governor of the Massachusetts Colony; yet in Note 2, p. 291, speaking of John Endecott, he says: "He was of course *superseded in the office of Governor of the Colony*, by the arrival of Winthrop." See the subject very ably and fully discussed and the claim of Mr. Endecott defended by Mr. Felt, in the Mass. Register for 1846, pp. 37, 38.

[2] The vote was simply a decision of the question where the future meetings of the Company should be held.–*Bancroft*, vol. 1. p. 382.

[3] We do not wish to appear in the attitude of controversy while we assert our right and duty to establish an historic fact, and vindicate the claim of Mr. Endecott.

effects upon him, to the prejudice of the whole plantation. But such was the energy and firmness of his character, aided, no doubt, by a religious enthusiasm, which induced the belief, that it was the purpose of God 'to give them the land of the heathen as an inheritance,' that neither his faith nor confidence in the ultimate success of the undertaking, ever for a moment forsook him. In every crisis, this little band looked to him, as the weather beaten and tempest tossed mariner looks to his commander, next to God, for encouragement and support; — and they did not look in vain. Such was the great mortality among them, during the first winter after their arrival, arising from exposure to the rigors of an untried climate — badly fed and badly lodged — that there were scarcely found in the settlement, well persons enough to nurse and console the sick. To enhance their distress, they were destitute of any regular medical assistance. In this painful dilemma a messenger was despatched by Mr. Endecott to Gov. Bradford, of the Plymouth settlement, to procure the necessary aid; and Doctor Samuel Fuller, a prominent member and deacon of the Plymouth Church, was sent among them. During Doct. Fuller's visit, Mr. Endecott was called by Divine Providence to suffer one of the heaviest of earthly afflictions, in the death of his wife, the partner of all his sorrows; who had forsaken home, kindred, and the sympathy of friends, that she might share with him the cares and privations incident to a new settlement. Surrounded by savages, and from the circumstances of the case, placed almost beyond the pale of civilized society, her sympathy, council and advice must necessarily have been very dear to him. She must have entwined herself about his affections as the tender ivy winds itself around the lordly oak. Her slender and delicate frame was not proof against the rigors of a New England climate. Born and nurtured in the midst of luxury and ease, she could not withstand the privations and hardships of her new home,

and she fell a victim to her self-sacrificing disposition.[1] Painful, indeed, must have been the parting, and severe the trial to Mr. Endecott. Under the influence of the feelings which this affliction produced, he wrote the following letter to Gov. Bradford.

"Right Worshipfulle Sir:

"It is a thing not usual that servants of one Master, and of the same household, should be strangers. I assure you I desire it not; Nay, to speak more plainly, I *cannot* be so to *you*. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and have for the main one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is there can be no discord, nay, here must needs be a sweet harmony: and the same request with you, I make unto the Lord, that we as Christian brethren be united by an heavenly, and unfeigned love, binding all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you, for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied, touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship: It is as far as I can gather no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto mee, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you in that

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[1] She was probably in poor health from her first arrival, and Endecott must have alluded to it in his first letters. Gov. Cradock in his letter of Feb. 1629, in answer to one from Gov. Endecott, remarks, — "and to hear that my good cousin, your wife, was perfectly recovered of her health would be acceptable news to us all; which God grant in his good time that we may."

particular; but God's people must not look for less here below, and it is a great mercy of God that he strengtheneth them to go through it. I shall not need at this time to enlarge unto you, for (God willing) I purpose to see your face shortly; in the mean tyme, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing and protection, and rest Your assured loving friend,

"Naumkeag, May 11, 1629. Jo: Endecott."

The foregoing epistle is alike honorable to his head and his heart. Humble, devout, and chastened feelings, pervade it throughout. It speaks a mind sensibly alive to religious impressions. The sentiments here expressed, cannot fail to find a response in the hearts of all reflecting men, in this and succeeding generations. The magnitude of the undertaking in which they were engaged, the necessity of union in their efforts, and the impossibility of success without direct Divine assistance, are here represented in language elegant and devout; blending the accomplishments of the scholar with the attributes of the christian. Gov. Bradford notices the writer of this letter in the following manner: "At Naumkeag, since called by them Salem, there was come in the latter end of the Summer before, a very worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endecott by name, and some others with him, to make some preparation for the rest; to whom (by some that came hither from thence,) I had occasion to write unto him, though unknown by face, or in any other way, but as I heard of his worth; from whom I received the letter following."

Whether Mr. Endecott carried into execution his design intimated in this letter, of making Gov. Bradford a visit "shortly," is uncertain. On the 27th of May, 1629, in a communication to the authorities at

home, he complained that some persons in his jurisdiction disregarded the law of 1622, for the regulation of trade with the Indians, and "desiring the Company would take the same into their serious consideration, and to use some speedy means here for reformation thereof."[1] A petition was in consequence presented to the King, who in compliance therewith issued a new proclamation, forbidding such disorderly trading. These steps were no doubt taken in reference to the associates of one Thomas Morton, whose residence at Mount Wollaston, or Merry Mount, now Quincy, he visited shortly after his arrival in this country. This man, and his associates, had alarmed all the well disposed settlers from Piscataqua to Plymouth, by selling arms and ammunition to the Indians, indulging themselves in dissipation, and otherwise imperiling the peace and welfare of New England. The object of Mr. Endecott's visit was to rectify abuses among his remaining confederates, Morton himself having been already apprehended and sent home to England for trial. He went there, we are told, in the "purifying spirit of authority," and caused their May-pole to be cut down, to which they had been in the habit of affixing pieces of satirical composition against those who opposed their wishes and practices, and "rebuked the inhabitants for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better." He also changed the name of the place and called it Mount Dagon. The precise period of this visit is not known, and it is not improbable that Mr. Endecott extended his journey at the time, to the Plymouth Colony. However this may be, a warm friendship soon grew up between Gov. Bradford and himself, which continued without interruption for the remainder of their lives.

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[1] Company Records in England.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton — Description of the Settlement at the time — Church Established — Troubles with the Brownes — Sends them to England — Proposals in England to transfer the Government to this Country — Agreed upon — John Winthrop chosen Governor — Sickness and Distress in the Colony — Gov. Winthrop arrives — Situation of the Colony at this time.

As yet no steps had been taken in the Colony towards the establishment of a reformed Church for propagating the Gospel, which they professed above all to be their aim in settling this Plantation. On the 30th of June, 1629, the Rev. Francis Higginson[1] arrived at Naumkeag, and the Rev. Mr. Skelton, the early friend and spiritual father of Mr. Endecott, arrived about the same time. They had been sent over by the home government. Mr. Higginson thus speaks of his reception by Mr. Endecott: "The next moring (30th,) the Governor came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited mee and my wiffe to come on shore and take our lodgings at his house; which we did accordingly." The settlement, we are told, then consisted of "about half a score of houses, with a fair house newly built for the Governour. We found also abundance of corne planted by them, very good and well liking. — Our Governour hath a store of green pease growing in his garden, as good as ever I eat in England. * * * Our Governour hath already planted a vineyard, with great hopes of increase. Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chesnuts, filberts, walnuts, small

[1] In the Company's Records, this name is spelt "Higgeson."

nuts, hurtle berries, and haws of white thorn, near as good as our cherries in England — they grow in plenty here."

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, the necessary measures were taken preparatory to the settlement of a religious congregation, in accordance with the views of the Puritans. In this they were aided by Mr. Endecott, and the most intelligent of the colonists. Having first concluded a satisfactory form of church government and discipline, which was submitted to Mr. Endecott for approval, the 6th day of August, 1629, just eleven months after his arrival, was the time selected for this "little band of devout Pilgrims, to enter into solemn covenant with God, and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers."[1] By Mr. Endecott's order, a solemn day of "humiliation" had been held on the 20th of July preceding, for the choice of a Pastor and Teacher. An important step was about to be taken — a new priesthood was about to be established — all allegiance to, or alliance with any other Church on earth was about to be dissolved! It was a subject of momentous concern with the Colonists, and called into exercise all their moral heroism and spiritual courage. Mr. Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, came here by sea, and arrived just in season to give the right hand of fellowship. Of all that little band gathered together on this occasion, none felt a deeper interest, or took a more responsible part, than the subject of this memoir.[2]

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[1] These rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with malignant calumnies, established a covenant cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots.

Bancroft, v. i. p. 377.

[2] The Rev. Mr. Upham in his Dedication Sermon, in 1826, thus speaks of him: "John Endecott, (a man, who to the qualities which have rendered him illustrious, as an effectual leader of colonization, as a gallant soldier, as a skillul statesman, added a knowledge of the Scriptures, and a devout piety, which will

While every thing, to all appearance, was thus smiling auspiciously upon their spiritual concerns, the clouds of discord began to gather about them. Two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, who were displeased that the use of the book of common prayer should be abolished in the newly established Church, kept themselves aloof from any participation in the performances of the new service. Nor were they satisfied with this. They gathered together another company in a distinct place, and read to them the formularies of the Episcopal Church. It is no wonder that these proceedings were viewed by the Colonists with distrust and alarm. They were looked upon no doubt as indications of another reign of prelacy, in their new abode, which had already driven them from their native country. Mr. Endecott, however, took no public notice of these doings until compelled by the disturbance which began to grow among the colonists by these means, when he summoned the two brothers before him. It was, however, to no purpose — they manifested mutinous and seditious dispositions, and Mr. Endecott, acting under the advice of the Council, and the authority of the home government, sent them back to England. This act, thus early, raised a cry against him, and unjustly stamped his character with bigotry and intolerance, in the minds of many unwilling to discern the important interests which were then believed to be involved in it. But we think much can be said in extenuation

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ever hallow his memory,) early in the year 1629, before the formation of this Church, wrote to Gov. Bradford respecting a conference he had held with a gentleman sent to him from Plymouth, (Doct. Fuller) on the subject of Church institution and government. In this letter we find no acknowledgment of any other authority in such a matter than his own private judgment, and no desire expressed or attempt exhibited to force his judgment upon others." The letter here referred to, is the one already cited, of May 11, 1629. "The standard," says Mr. Upham, "by which Mr. Endecott made up his judgment in this matter, was certainly no other than the standard of Protestantism — the Scriptures as they were opened to his understanding."

of his conduct on this occasion.[1] Although the Brownes, on their return to England, made great exertions to injure him and the Council in the estimation of the home government, yet their motives were rightly appreciated and no inconvenience followed.

We now approach an important event in the history and welfare of the Colony — the removal of its Charter to New England. Governor Cradock, with whom the idea appears to have originated, acquainted the Proprietors, at a meeting of the Court, on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1629, that for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Plantation, and inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transport themselves and families thither, as well as for other weighty reasons, it was proposed to transfer the entire government to this country, and continue it no longer in subjection to the Company in England. Even in this, it was the fortune of Mr. Endecott to be at least indirectly instrumental.[2] Soon after this communication, an agreement to that effect was drawn up at Cambridge, and among those who signed it, was their future Governor, John Winthrop. It was one of its stipulations that they should settle their affairs, so as to be ready for a voyage hither by the first of March. This appears to

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[1] The annalist of Salem says: — "This magistrate has had a greater share of blame for excluding the Messrs. Browne from the Plantation, than actually belonged to him. Others were as active as himself to insure their departure. For what he did in that affair, he had ample authority. But whether it was expedient to exercise his power as he did, is a question which religious toleration, as generally understood in his day, would answer in the affirmative — but as understood in ours, would answer in the negative." Bancroft, vol. i. 350, remarks that "faction deprived of its leaders, died away," and adds, the "the liberal Ebeling, i. 869, defends the measure." See also Graham's History of the U. States, vol. i., p. 218.

[2] "By this time the often agitation of this affair in several parts of the Kingdom, *the good report of Captain Endecott's government*, and the increase of the Colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates not formerly engaged." — *Planters' Plea.*

have been the first connexion Mr. Winthrop had with the settlement of this soil. On the 29th of August following, at a meeting of the Court of Proprietors in London, this change in the government was decided upon.[1] On the 16th of October, at another meeting of the Court, it was conceived "fitt that Captain Endecott continue the government there, unless just cause to the contrarie." But on the 20th of the same month, Gov. Cradock informed the Proprietors, that in accordance with the alteration of the government now about to take place, it was necessary to elect a new Governor, Deputy, and Assistants; when "JOHN WYNTHROP" was put in nomination, and unanimously chosen Governor. "In like manner, and with like free and full consent, John Humfry was chosen Deputy Governor," and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Matthew Cradock, John Endecott, with fifteen others, were chosen a board of "Assistants."

Notwithstanding these encouraging movements at home, the situation of Mr. Endecott and his little party in this country, was cheerless and depressing. As the winter approached, disease and mortality continued their dreadful work! nearly one half of their number died! On the following April and May of 1630, the Colonists were kept in a state of continual apprehension of an attack from the Naraganset Indians. Deplorable indeed must have been their condition, and all powerful the incentives which prompted them to persevere against so many discouragements. Reduced in numbers and weakened by sickness, they could have made no effectual resistance against their savage foe. But a kind Providence, in whom they ever trusted, sustained them through all

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[1] A Government of Trade and Merchandize appears to have been still kept up in England. See Company Records, 16th Oct., 1629.

the difficulties of this bold undertaking. They were indeed "persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." We are told that the shooting off of their great guns at Salem, so terrified the Indians, that they all dispersed and ran away.[1]

On the 12th of June, 1630, the ship Arbella, Captain Milburne, having on board Governor Winthrop and company, and bearing the original Charter of the Colony, arrived off the port of Naumkeag, having sailed from Cowes on the 29th of March, and from Yarmouth on the 8th of April. Mr. Endecott, who had already been apprized that he was shortly to be superseded in the government of the Plantation, repaired on board to welcome the new Governor, and offer him and his friends the hospitalities of his house. Among the distinguished personages were Isaac Johnson and his wife, the Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Speaking of Mr. Endecott's visit, Governor Winthrop says: "Wee that were of the Assistants and some other gentlemen and some of the women returned with him to Nahumkeck, where we supped on good venison pasty and good beer." At the time of the arrival of the new Governor, wholesome and salutary laws for the government of the Colony had been instituted by Endecott, under the authority given him by the home government, and the settlement had already assumed the condition, and formed the nucleus of a well organized and regulated body politic. A Church with faithful ministers, which they professed to value above all temporal interests and earthly grandeur, had also been established; and the wheels of government were moving on harmoniously, upon a safe and sure foundation. Under this state of things, Endecott now surrendered the

[1] Charlestown Records.

civil power into the hands of Gov. Winthrop, and took upon himself the more humble appointment of one of the Assistants. Yet, says the Annalist of Salem, "the principles of Winthrop's administration were like those which had directed the course of his predecessor. The commencement of legislation, which was to have an important part in promoting social freedom, that has spread and is spreading in the world, *began* at Naumkeag under Endecott, and was *continued* by his worthy successor."

CHAPTER IV.

New Settlers displeased with Salem — Jealousies towards the Plymouth Settlement — Endecott's second Marriage — Newton the Capital — Higginson's death — Roger Williams — Letter to Governor Winthrop — Subjects of the Letter considered — Winthrop visits Salem — Sachem Wahquamachet visits the Colony.

Soon after the arrival of Governor Winthrop, the new settlers began to be dissatisfied with Salem, as the Capital of the Colony; it not combining, in their opinions, sufficient advantages of location, soil, and natural means of defence. A party was therefore sent to explore the country westward, to discover if possible, some more suitable situation. It had ever been a darling object with Endecott to make Salem the seat of government; he however bowed in submission and continued his efforts to advance the common weal.

An attempt was made at this time, by some evil disposed persons, to prejudice the mind of Governor Winthrop against the Colony at Plymouth. The cause of this attempt thus to sow discord between the Colonies, was probably a suspicion that the Plymouth Church was too strongly tinctured in its policy with Brownism. The Brownists, as they were called, were a sect which sprung up in England during the sixteenth century, and were so named from their founder, one Robert Browne, a young clergyman of distinguished family and descent. This sect denied the Church of England, as then constituted, to be a true Church, and of the lawfulness of joining in any part of her service or worship. Its founder, after disseminating his doctrines somewhat

extensively, became an apostate from his own opinions, and returned again within the folds of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Endecott interested himself to prevent any evil consequences arising from these ill advised proceedings, by endeavors to counteract whatever unfavorable influence they might be likely to exert over the mind of Gov. Winthrop. For his efforts and success in this affair, Doctor Fuller, of the Plymouth Church, is loud in his commendations. He calls him "my dear friend, and a friend to us all: — is a second Burrow; — the Lord establish him, and us all, in every good way of truth."

On the 18th of August, 1630, Mr. Endecott entered into a new matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth Gibson, of Cambridge, England. This lady probably came over in the ship with Governor Winthrop, and the marriage ceremony was performed by him and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, afterwards Pastor of the First Church in Boston. This connexion appears to have been a happy one, although there was a much greater disparity in their ages than prudence and judgment would seem to warrant; the difference being about twenty-six years.[1]

Such was his ardent and growing attachment to the place of his adoption, that when it was decided, in December, 1630, to fortify Newton, now Cambridge, for the seat of government, and to build houses and move their military stores to that place the next Spring, he could not be prevailed upon to quit his accustomed residence. All the

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[1] Their relative ages are ascertained by Mrs. Endecott's deposition in the action of Endecott *vs.* Nurse, taken the 15th of April, 1674, as follows: "The deposition of Elizabeth Endecott, aged *about* sixty yeares, Testifieth and saith," etc. "Taken upon Oath by me, Edw. Hutchenson.

"Vera copia, attest, Hilliard Veren." Had Gov. Endecott lived, he would have been at this time eighty-six years old.

members, except himself and Mr. Sharp, who was about returning to England, agreed to do so; but Mr. Endecott excused himself upon the ground that he had so formed his connexions in Salem, that it would be attended with great inconvenience.

The Rev. Mr. Higginson died on the 6th day of August, 1630, having completed just one year from the day of his ordination; and on the 12th of April following, Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island, was settled in Salem, as Teaching Elder, in connexion with Mr. Skelton. A letter of reproof was in consequence written by the Court in Boston to Mr. Endecott; — Mr. Williams had made himself obnoxious to the Church in Boston, by refusing to join with them, "because they would not make a public declaration of repentance for having communed with the Church of England while they lived there." They expressed themselves surprised that the Church in Salem should choose him, without advising with the Council. This remonstrance prevented his ordination, and he soon after removed to Plymouth. In all the persecutions which followed this man, he was never forsaken by Mr. Endecott or the Salem Church; on the contrary, he was warmly supported by them in most, if not all his difficulties.

The following letter from Mr. Endecott to Governor Winthrop, will give an idea of the condition of the Plantation at this time — the difficulty of intercourse between the different parts of it, and withal, which is our principal object, some idea of the writer himself.

"Right Worshipfulle,

"I did expect to have been with you in person at the Court, and to that end I *put to sea* yesterday, and was driven back again,

the wind being stiffe against us. And there being no canoe or boate at Sagust, I must have been constrained to goe to Mistick, and thence about to Charles-town, which at this time, I durst not be so bold, my bodie being at this present in an ill condition to *wade*, or *take cold*, and, therefore I desire you to pardon mee. Though otherwise, I could not desire it by reason of many occasions and businesses. There are at Mr. Hewson's plantation five or six kine verie ill, and in great danger, I fear they will hardly escape it, whereof twoe are mine and all I have; which are worse than any of the rest. I left mine there this winter to do Mr. Skelton a pleasure to keep his for him here in Salem, that he might have the benefit of their milk. And I understand by Wincoll that they have been ill tended, and he saith almost starved. Besides they have fed on acorns, and they cannot digest them, for they vomitt exceedingly and are so bound in their bodies, that he is fain to rake them, and use his skill to maintain life in them. I have willed him to bee there till he can bring them to some health again if possible. And I have given him malt, to make mashes of licoris, and annisseedes, and long pepper, and such other things as I had, to drench them. I could wish when Manning hath recovered his strength, that you would free him, for he will never do you or Mr. Hewson service, for when he is well, he was as negligent as the worst of them.

"Mr. Skelton, myselfe and the rest of the Congregation desire to be thankful to God and yourselfe, for your benevolence to Mr. Haughton's[1] child. The Lord restore it you. I have prevailed with much adoe, with Sir Richard for an old debt here, which he thought was desperate, to contribute it, which I hope I shall make good for the child. I think

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[1] Mr. Haughton had been ruling Elder in Salem, and died in 1629, from the effects of the climate.

Mr. Skelton has written to you whome he thinks stands most in neede of contribution of such provisions as you will be pleased to give amongst us, of that which was sent over.[1] The eel-pots you sent for are made, which I had in my boate, hoping to have brought them with mee. I caused him to make but two for the present: if you like them, and his prices (for he worketh for himselfe,) you shall have as many as you desire. He selleth them for four shillings apiece. Sir, I desired the rather to have beene at Court, because I heare I am much complained of by Goodman Dexter for strikeing him. I acknowledge I was too rash in strikeing him, understanding since, it is not lawfull for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seene the manner of his carriadge, with such daring of mee, with his armes akimbo, &c. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write noe more of it, but leave it, till we speak before you face to face. Onely thus farre further, that he hath given out that if I had a purse he would make mee empty it, and if hee cannot have justice here, hee will do wonders in England, and if hee cannot prevail there, hee will try it out with mee here at blowes. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it out at blowes, and hee a fit man for mee to deal with, then you should not hear mee complain — but I hope the Lord hath brought mee off from that course.

"I thought good further to write what my judgment is for the dismissing

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[1] 1631. And when the people's wants were great, not only in one town, but in divers towns, such was the godly care, wisdom, and prudence, (not selfishness, but self-denial,) of our Governor Winthrop and his assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man had need. — *Roger Clap's Memoir.*

You have better food and raiment than was in former times; but have you better hearts than your forefathers had? If so, rejoice in that mercy, and let New England then shout for joy. — *Ibid*, 1676.

of the Court 'till corne be sett. It will hinder us that are farre off exceedingly, and not further you there. Men's labour is precious here in corne setting time, the plantation being as yet so weak. I will be with you the Lord assisting mee, as soon as conveniently I can: In the mean while I committ you to His protection and safe guard that never fails his children, and rest,

"Your unfeigned loving friend to command,

"Salem, 12th April, 1631. Jo: Endecott."

The beginning of the foregoing letter has been often quoted in connexion with the increased facilities of travelling since the days of our fore-fathers. The remarks about "dismissing the Court till corne be sett," show the simple state of society at that period, and that agriculture was then thought of more importance than legislation. In fact it was at that time the chief employment of all classes, and any thing that affected in the least the interests of this branch of industry, was of vital importance to the Colony. In those days too, the people sought their rulers, where the Prophet Elijah found Elisha, at the plough, and invested them with the mantle of authority. We should be inclined to smile at the importance here attached to preserving the lives of a few "kine," did we not reflect at what great expense and trouble they had been imported from England, and in those strictly pastoral days of the Colony they were an essential means for the sustenance of the community. The "eel-pots" too, in our days, would seem beneath the notice of the first men in the Colony. But it was the simplicity of their lives, at that early period, which constituted one of the principal charms in their characters. The Goodman Dexter, here referred to, was a Thomas Dexter, one of the original settlers of Lynn. His general character is represented as far from being mild

and his deportment often overbearing.[1] There are instances on record of his having "tried it out at blows," in an unmerciful manner, with some of the settlers of Lynn. He was, however, a very active and enterprizing man, and did much to advance that settlement. He bought Nahant of an Indian, known by the name of Black William, for a suit of clothes, which occasioned the town an expensive and troublesome law suit in 1657. Of the merits of the controversy between him and Mr. Endecott we know nothing; but judging from Mr. Endecott's account, the provocation given him was of the most irritating character. We hold there are bounds beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue; but we claim for Mr. Endecott no immunity from the common failings of humanity, and believe his conduct on this occasion to have been beneath the dignity of a Magistrate. A magnanimity is however manifested in the freedom with which he acknowledged his error.

In the Autumn of 1631, Governor Winthrop with Captain Underhill and others, visited Mr. Endecott at Salem on foot. He gave them a polite and friendly reception, and this interview was highly satisfactory to all parties. Winthrop says they were "bountifully entertained." It was also during this year that Wahquamachet, a Sachem upon the Connecticut River, visited the Colony, and obtained the intercession of Mr. Endecott to forward a plantation upon that river. He accordingly wrote a letter upon the subject to Governor Winthrop, setting forth the proposals of the Sachem, who represented that country to be eminently

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[1] In 1633 he was 'set in the bilbowes, disfranchised and fined £10 for speaking reproachful and seditious words against the government here established.'— *Col. Rec.* Some years after he was presented at the Quarterly Court for bestowing "about twenty blows on the head and shoulders" of one Sam'l Hutchinson "to the no small danger and deray of his senses as well as sensibilities."— *Lewis's Lynn.*

fruitful. The invitation was not however accepted, the Colony being as yet too weak for the undertaking. The sincerity of the Sachem's motives was also doubted; and Wahquamachet returned home disappointed.[1]

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[1] Two years after this, 1633, the first settlement was made at Windsor, on the west side of the Connecticut River, by persons from the Plymouth Colony.

CHAPTER V.

His Farm Granted him — Description — Scenery — Roger Williams returns to Salem — Ladies' Veils — Colonists troubled by news from England — Cuts the Cross from the King's Colors — Doings thereupon — The Sword preserved — Trouble arising out of the settlement of Mr. Williams — Mr. Endecott committed for contempt — Commands an Expedition against the Block Island and Pequot Indians — His views about the Cross triumph.

On the 3d of July, 1632, the Court of Assistants granted Mr. Endecott three hundred acres of land, called by the Indians in English, "Birchwood," afterwards known as his "Orchard Farm." It was situated between two and three miles in a northerly direction from the main settlement at Salem, upon a tongue of land bounded on the north, south and east by rivers, or more properly inlets of the sea, and on the west by the main land. Even at that early period, it was one of the most desirable situations in that vicinity. Though at some distance from the place which was afterwards selected for the seat of government, and where the Court House was erected, yet he was in the centre of the population; being by land nearer to the shores than he was to the cultivated farms around him. It was many years after he established himself at this beautiful place, so near all the streams which passed through the adjacent country, before any incorporation separated Salem from the Merrimack; and for twenty years Salem bounded on Andover. The spot then, was the best he could have chosen. On a commanding eminence, which overlooked the country for some distance around, and about one eighth of a mile from one of the inlets, he built his house, and commenced in earnest the cultivation of his farm.

Although the ploughshare has frequently passed over it, yet part of the cellar of this house is plainly discernible at the present day. It is a most romantic situation, and denotes him a man of much discrimination and taste in matters of this kind. On this farm he lived in sort of feudal style, surrounded by his servants and retainers; the names of some of whom have been handed down to us; — these were, John Putnam, Benj. Scarlett, Edw. Grover, and Wm. Poole.[1] John Putnam testifies in 1705, "that being a retainer in Governor Endecott's family about fifty years ago," etc. Benj. Scarlett, in 1692, testifies to having lived with him as a "servant" near "thirty years"; — and from the testimony of Edward Grover we learn, that in 1633, "he did helpe to cut and cleave about seven thousand pallisadoes, and was the first that made improvements thereof by breaking up of ground and plantinge of Indian corne." In front of his Mansion House, and immediately upon the southern slope of a gentle declivity, he planted his far famed orchard, which gave the name to his farm. The tradition that the Governor always pointed out his dial as denoting the age of this orchard, which bears the date of 1630, seems to indicate that the trees were removed hither from his town residence. Here, too, if tradition be correct, he introduced for medicinal purposes, as well as by way of ornament to his garden, the "white weed," or chrysanthemum leucanthemum, of the botanist, which has since become so detrimental to the hay fields of our farmers in some parts of this State.

His usual mode of transporting himself and family, to and from this place, was at first by water, and he was as often visited by his

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[1] William Poole, (servant to the right worshipfulle John Endecott, Collonell) sentenced to be whipped for ruoning away from his master. — *Q. C. Records*, 25th, 7th mo., 1638.

friends in this way, as in any other. The inlet before the Mansion House had nothing to interrupt it; the passage was open to the bay, and at that early period must have been delightfully romantic. The shores on either side thickly clothed with wood, whose dark images were reflected in the still waters beneath them, were picturesque in the extreme. The bold jutting head lands, on some parts of the passage, lent a sublimity to the prospect, which was continually varying by the winding and circuitous course of the stream.[1] There was nothing to break the stillness, or disturb the quiet which reigned around, save the dashings of their own little boat amid the waters, or the heavy plunge of some lordly sea-bird, in his gyratory wanderings in pursuit of prey. The smoke from the humble and solitary wigwams of the Indians, thinly scattered along the margin of the waters, with an occasional glimpse at their tawny inhabitants, as they stealthily watched the passing boat from their leafy hiding places, or listlessly reclined under the shadow of some wide spreading oak, heightened the effect and diversified the scene. Within the last half century the ruins of some of these wigwams might still be seen,[2] and could not fail to call up melancholy reflections upon the wretched fate of those noble lords of the soil throughout our vast domain.

It is no easy matter at this distance of time, for the mind accurately to picture to itself the appearance of the primeval forests before the axe of the Pilgrim, and the improvements of civilization, commenced

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[1] "Kernwood," the Summer residence of Francis Peabody, Esq., is situated on the borders of this river, and for beauty of location is not surpassed in this part of the country.

[2] The writer distinctly recollects, when quite a boy, of visiting one of these ruins, on the borders of this stream, situated in the midst of a locust grove, in the vicinity of the Endecott Burying Ground.

their inroads. Doubtless they were such as the genius of solitude might have selected for her abode. One "boundless contiguity of shade" prevailed around. No ornamental plantations or tasteful pleasure grounds, by which the country at this day is so beautifully diversified, and on which so much expense and care are lavished, greeted the visions of the first planters. To their outward senses every thing must have appeared fresh from the hands of the Deity, — like the world, in the infancy of man's creation, — a majesty and grandeur pervaded the face of all things, and bore in a peculiar manner the impress of the Maker. But the stern realities of life left the early settlers little leisure to *admire*, if they did not wholly extinguish their *love* for the beautiful and sublime in nature, merely as such. But to return from this digression. From the Governor's Mansion House there was a gentle descent to the inlet in which he kept his shallop. Tradition says, on the eastern side of the orchard and garden there was a walk from the house to the landing place, with plum trees overrun with grape vines on each side of it, so thick with foliage in its season, that a person might walk in this avenue unobserved. Near the landing place was a spring of water, overshadowed with willows, clear and pellucid, from which the family were supplied with the cool and refreshing beverage. This spring still remains, but the vines and trees of the avenue have long since disappeared, and left no trace behind.

Although from Governor Endecott's constant employment in public service, he was prevented making this his permanent place of abode, particularly during the latter period of his life, when the "administration of justice," and the "entertainment of strangers," rendered his residence there inconvenient, on account of its distance from the Capital, yet his occasionally laying aside the robes of state, and retiring for a season to

this secluded spot, there to enjoy in the quiet and peaceful cultivation of his farm, a relaxation from the arduous and trying duties of his situation, must have been very grateful to his feelings. "Posterity," says the Rev. Dr. Bentley, "has fully approved the choice of Governor Endecott, and more circumstances distinguish the grounds on which he planted, than are recollected respecting any of the leaders of the Pilgrims."

In the month of November, 1633, Roger Williams again returned to Salem. Soon after his return the Court of Assistants were put in possession of a treatise, written by him, questioning the right of the King to grant this soil to the settlers without first obtaining the consent of the aborigines. It also contained many discourteous remarks relative to the King. The Colonists, sensibly alive to every thing which would affect their interests unfavorably, were concerned lest this production, should a knowledge of it reach England, might redound to their disadvantage. Thereupon Governor Winthrop wrote a letter to Mr. Endecott, who was at that time absent from the Court, desiring him to exert his influence with Mr. Williams to retract the opinions expressed in this publication. "Whereunto," having prevailed in his efforts, "he returned a modest and discreet answer," and every thing was done that was practicable, towards the suppression of this document.

Subjects of a new and novel nature were now continually arising among the Colonists, in which Mr. Endecott always took an active part. At a lecture in Boston, in March, 1634, the question was discussed as to the propriety of ladies *continuing* to wear veils at Church. Mr. Cotton, the minister, contended that as this practice had heretofore been considered as a sign of submission, they might now with propriety be laid aside. Mr. Endecott opposed Mr. Cotton, and endeavored to

maintain his ground by the general argument of St. Paul. In this he was supported by his minister, Mr. Williams, and through their joint influence veils for a while continued to be generally and extensively worn. The ladies however, soon after, upon the occasion of Mr. Cotton's preaching in Salem, became converts to his opinion and discontinued the use of an article of dress "which indicated too great a degree of submission to the lords of the creation."

At this great distance of time, we can hardly conceive of sage and dignified counsellors and divines gravely discussing a subject, which to the present age appears of such trivial importance. It seems to take from the dignity of their characters, and to diminish the respect due to their exalted virtues. But in justice to them we should not look at it in the light of modern vision;— we ought rather to view it as in accordance with the practice of the times in which they lived; when dress of every description was even considered a fit subject for legislation;[1] and that the proceedings in this instance were not intended by our forefathers in any degree to degrade or impose arbitrary restrictions upon "the fairest of God's creation — his last best gift to man."

The year 1634 will be ever memorable in the history of the Colony,

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[1] In September, 1638, the Court of Assistants requested the aid of clergymen for suppressing "costliness of apparel and following new fashions," — and in 1639, an act was passed calling for reformation in "immoderate great breeches, knotts of ribbon, broad shoulder bands, and ryles, silk rases, double ruffs and cuffs." It also "allowed no lace nor points on their clothing; no garment to be made with short sleeves, so as to expose the arms." It required "short sleeves to be lengthened so as to reach the wrists; — and that no sleeve should be more than one half ell in the widest place as a common measure; — but to be larger or smaller, according to the size of the wearer." These facts "show the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure."

as the one in which the representative principle was first recognized in the government. The population had become too numerous to admit the whole body of freemen to its elections. Each town was therefore allowed to send two or three deputies to represent them in the General Court. Thus was formed the first House of Representatives in Massachusetts, and the second in America, — one having been already introduced in the Virginia government.

On the 2d of August, of this year, Mr. Endecott was called to mourn the loss of his early friend, the Rev. Mr. Skelton. He had become endeared to him as his spiritual guide, in first opening to his view the way of truth, while in England, and followed him to this country to council and guide him in the paths of duty and happiness. His loss must have been felt by Mr. Endecott as a great affliction.

At this time, a Military Commission, with the most unlimited powers, was established by the General Court, and Mr. Endecott was appointed one of its members.[1]

On the 18th of September, this same year, the Colony was thrown into consternation, and alarmed for its liberties, by the news from England that a commission had been granted to two Arch Bishops, and ten others of the Council, conferring on them the authority to regulate the Plantations of New England; to establish and maintain the Episcopal

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[1] Gov. Dudley was placed at the head of this commission, and his associates were, Winthrop, Humphrey, Endecott, Coddington, Pynchon, Nowell, Bellingham, and Bradstreet. Among their various powers, they were authorized "to make either offensive or defensive war; to imprison or confine any that they shall judge to be enemies to the commonwealth; and such as will not come under command or restraint, as they shall be required, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to put such persons to death."—*Colony Rec.* p. 139.

Church in this country; to recall its Charter; remove its Governors; make its laws; hear and decide its legal cases, and appoint its punishments, even death itself.[1] Intelligence was also received at the same time, that a new Governor was being secretly conveyed to Massachusetts, with orders calculated to prostrate all its civil and ecclesiastical rights. Governor Cradock had already informed them that the King's Council had demanded their Charter. Such was the universal anxiety this news awakened, that the idea of resistance appears immediately to have possessed the minds of the inhabitants,[2] and the fortifications were hastened forward, and an assessment laid of an additional rate of five hundred pounds for defence. These tidings were received with indignant feelings by Mr. Endecott. He saw by this step that all their dear bought privileges, purchased at such immense sacrifices, which none could better appreciate than himself, were about to be violently, as with a ruthless despotism, wrested from them. His independent spirit could not quietly brook such high handed infringements upon their chartered rights, and he resolved in all the affairs of the Colony, in which he had any share or influence, to pursue that course which he deemed most for her interests, whether it led him over plains or mountains, through flowers or thorns. There was a fortitude exhibited in his actions on all occasions, which shew him formed for great emergencies. Probably under the influence of the feelings produced by this intelligence, and excited by that ardent zeal which marked his character through life, he shortly after cut the Red Cross from the King's colors, deeming it a relic of Popish idolatry. It has generally been conceded that he was instigated to this deed by his

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[1] Mass. Hist. Coll. I., iv., p. 119.

[2] The General Court, in January, 1635, unanimously agreed, that if such Governor should come, the Colonists ought to resist his authority and maintain their rights.

minister, Mr. Williams; but if we understand his character aright, he needed not the aid of such prompting in any matters of duty or of conscience. This bold and daring act was considered an insult, as well to the established Church of England, as to the King himself; and the Colony dared not refrain from taking cognizance of it, lest it should call down upon their heads the vengeance of the whole British hierarchy. A warrant was therefore sent to the Ensign of the Company, with the command to bring the mutilated colors with him to the next Court; "as also any other that hath defaced the said colors." At a meeting of the ministers of Salem, and other towns, in the month of January following, the question was discussed whether it was right to retain the cross in their military standard. As might have been expected, under the circumstances, they were divided in opinion. At a meeting of the next Court, Mr. Endecott was summoned to answer for his offence. The members after discussing the charge against him, like the ministers, also differed in opinion, and the subject was put over to the next session. In the mean time, the Military Commissioners, of whom Mr. Endecott was one, ordered all ensigns, whether with crosses or without, to be laid aside for the present. At the General Court in May, the subject was again renewed, and Mr. Endecott was finally censured upon several grounds; but chiefly that by this act, he had exposed the Colony to the malevolence of England. He was in consequence left out from the Board of Assistants for one year. It was a pusillanimous and temporizing policy, justified only by the exigencies of the times, which dictated these proceedings against Mr. Endecott. It was a sacrifice, as the result proved, of principle to expediency. There is ample evidence in the records of the Colony that most of the principal men, including his friend Governor Winthrop,

agreed with him on this subject.[1] 'The only difference between him and others was, he manifested his opinions by his acts, while they, with more prudence and safety, retained theirs in secret.' Had it not been for fear of the consequences, instead of being censured, his conduct would have been openly applauded. His boldness of action was made known in England, and looked upon there in the light of rebellion. It was the first blow struck in this country in defiance of the royalty of England, and would no doubt have cost Mr. Endecott his life, had it not been for those troubles, which were even then beginning to gather thickly, like a tempest, about the devoted head of the unfortunate Charles the First, and eventually bursting upon it, with a fury which nothing could resist, involving in its course, not only the temporary ruin of his dynasty, but the destruction of his own life. The sword with which this deed is said to have been done, has been preserved, and is now in the possession of one of the family, to whom it has descended, in direct line, by right of primogeniture. It is a plain, unornamented rapier, emblematical of the puritan simplicity of our forefathers.

But the apprehensions of the Colonists, as expressed in this censure of Mr. Endecott, were not altogether groundless. The malignant eye of the Mother Country, jealous of their growing liberties, was steadfastly fixed upon them. While these events were passing in this country, the Puritans in England were experiencing the most unmitigated persecution, at the hand of Arch Bishop Laud and his minions. As their numbers increased, the various modes of punishment multiplied. Cupidity vied

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[1] Winthrop's Journal, vol. I, p. 189. — The very next year only two of the Council, Vane and Dudley, would consent to spread the King's colors even in the fort, on account of the cross in them.

with avarice in imposing the most exorbitant fines. The pillory was repeatedly the mute witness of the bloody scene of human agony and mutilation. The scaffold and the dungeon had their victims. The lash, the shears, and the glowing iron were inflicted without mercy upon members of this proscribed sect.[1] But the faith of the Puritan rose superior to oppression and could not be overcome. The mutilated limbs of its votaries, served only to add new converts to its cause.

Before the close of the year 1635, Mr. Endecott was again involved in further trouble. The settlement of Mr. Williams in Salem had always been displeasing to the government. The General Court had granted a Plantation at Marblehead, and the inhabitants of Salem petitioned the same Court for some land at Marblehead Neck, which they claimed as belonging to them; but they were refused a hearing upon the strange and unwarrantable ground that they had neglected to consult the government about the reception of Mr. Williams. Mr. Endecott and the people of Salem felt themselves aggrieved by such a total and unjustifiable disregard of their rights, and letters missive were sent from the Church to the several towns, advisatory of the course they should adopt towards those members who had refused to hear their petition. Mr. Endecott was called to answer for the part he had taken in those letters. He defended the course of the Salem Church as regular and just. His defence displeased the Court, which, with something of the spirit of the Star Chamber, voted by 'general erection of hands, that Mr. Endecott be committed for contempt in protesting against its proceedings.' He was, however, subsequently dismissed upon some trifling acknowledgment. The Salem Deputies also incurred the

[1] Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. 2, ch. 5.

displeasure of the Court and were forbidden to take their seats as members of that body. In fact the vial of legislative wrath was poured out with no sparing hand, and the town was in reality, disfranchised, until such time as a majority of its freemen should disclaim those letters.[1]

While Mr. Endecott was so repeatedly engaged in controversy of various kinds, he lost none of the public confidence. On the contrary, the energy of his character and the integrity of his motives, gained for him many friends. In 1636, he was re-instated as one of the Assistants. In this year he was also appointed to command an expedition that was sent out against the Block Island and Pequot Indians. The latter were the most warlike tribe in New England. A Mr. John Oldham from Watertown, had recently been murdered by the Block Island Indians, while on a trading voyage, and the government deeming that justice ought to be summarily visited upon them for this outrage, determined to send out forthwith a detachment of ninety men, under four Captains, and place the whole force under the command of Endecott as the General.[2] This expedition sailed on the 24th day of August, and arrived at Block Island before the end of the month. Here they found some difficulty in landing on account of the surf, and were met by about forty Indians, who shot off their arrows at them, and then fled; but the men being all armed with corsletts, only one was slightly wounded in the neck. Here they found two plantations, and about sixty wigwams, but after searching two days unsuccessfully for

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[1] The Court viewed the act in the light of treason. Cotton calls it: — "Crimen majestatis læsæ."

[2] 27th, 4th mo., 1636. — This day was brought into towne and caryed up to Mr. Endecott's, these corselets, viz. 18 back pieces; 18 belly pieces; 18 pieces of tassys; 18 head pieces of 3 sorts; and but 17 gorgets, — item, 16 pikes and 19 swords.

[*Salem Town Records.*

Indians, who managed to elude their pursuit, they burnt their wigwams, staved their canoes and left the Island. From hence they went to the mouth of the Connecticut River, to demand of the Pequots the murderers of a Captain Stone of Plymouth Colony, and some others. Being wind bound there for four days, Endecott with twenty men and two shallops, proceeded to the Pequot Harbor, where an Indian came to meet them in a canoe, and demanded to know the occasion of this visit. Endecott informed him he came from the Governor of Massachusetts to speak with their Sachems, and was informed that Sassacus, their principal Sachem, had gone to Long Island. This Indian was again dispatched with orders to inform the other Sachems of his arrival. In the mean time the men under his command landed in much danger; the shore being high rugged rocks, they were completely in the power of the Indians, who, however, neglected to use their advantage. When the messenger returned, the Indians began to gather about this little band, to the number of two or three hundred, and messengers were passing forwards and backwards with excuses for their Sachems not appearing. Believing that these manœuvres were only subterfuges to gain time, Endecott told the Indians with whom he was surrounded, the particulars of his commission, and sent a messenger to inform their Sachems, if they would not allow him a hearing, nor yield to his demands, he should immediately commence hostilities. The answer returned to this menace was that the Sachems would grant the desired interview upon the condition that both parties should lay aside their weapons. Tired with trifling, and probably convinced that the Indians intended to practise some sort of treachery, "Endecott," we are told, "bid them begone and shift for themselves, for they had dared the English to come fight with them, and now they *had* come for that purpose." Whereupon the Indians all withdrew. While they were retiring, it

was difficult for Endecott to prevent his men from firing upon them; he "soon however went in pursuit, supposing they would have stood their ground, but they all fled and shot at the men from the thickets, but without harming any of them. They marched up to their town, burnt their wigwams, and then retired on board their vessels."

On the following day they landed on the west side of the river, but met with none of the enemy. Here they also burnt their wigwams, and destroyed their canoes. Seeing that the Indians were determined to avoid them on all occasions, and that it would therefore be impossible under the circumstances to fulfil the objects of their visit, Endecott and his party returned to Boston, where they arrived on the fourteenth of September, after an absence of little less than a month. It was subsequently ascertained, that in this skirmish they killed thirteen of the Pequots and wounded forty.[1]

This has been considered an inglorious expedition, which tended only to exasperate and embolden the Indians to further acts of aggression. But we conceive as much was done, as under the circumstances, could well have been effected; especially when we consider the extreme insignificance of the force employed against a numerous and warlike tribe. The destruction of their wigwams would seem both impolitic and unnecessary; — yet it was strictly in accordance with the Indian mode of warfare in those days, and I might perhaps also add, of christian warfare in more modern times. The lapse of two hundred years, it would seem, has done but little to soften the horrors of war, or to christianize the rulers of this *enlightened* Republic.

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[1] For a full account, see Winthrop's Journal, from which the above is substantially taken.

During this year, (1636,) the views of Mr. Endecott relative to the cross in the King's colors, triumphed over all considerations, and the Military Commissioners ordered it to be left out. On the ensigns at Castle Island, in Boston Harbor, they substituted the King's arms for the cross.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Williams banished — Hutchinson troubles — Colonists fear an Aristocracy — Hugh Peter sent to England as Agent — Endecott chosen Deputy Governor — Troubles with D'Aulney and La Tour — Letter to Winthrop — Ipswich Remonstrance — Letter to Governor Winthrop in his justification — Letter about the troubles at Gloucester — Confederation formed — Troubles with "Chaddock" — Castle in Boston Harbor rebuilt — Superstition of the Times.

Roger Williams had rendered himself so obnoxious by his perseverance in urging upon his own Church and the people at large, his peculiar religious views and abstract notions of duty, which led him into perpetual collision with the Clergy and Government, that he was ejected from his ministry, and sentenced to be banished from the Colony, in November, 1635. Mr. Endecott, however, did not participate in these proceedings; — on the contrary, he had ever shown himself a warm friend to Mr. Williams; who, in return, was thought to exercise an influence over the mind of his parishioner, not always the most salutary. However this may be, it is certain that the perplexing subjects of controversy in which he engaged, were much lessened after the departure of Mr. Williams from the Colony.

But the removal of one heresy, only made way for another. Scarcely had Mr. Williams left the settlement with his little band of devoted friends, when new schisms were introduced to disturb the harmony of the Church. A Mrs. Hutchinson, in 1636, had broached new, and as was thought by many, dangerous heresies. We are told she was a woman of superior mind, "of ready wit and bold spirit." Her opinions

were examined by the first Synod which ever assembled in New England. It met at Newton, now Cambridge, in August, 1637, and resulted in the condemnation of the opinions held by Mrs. Hutchinson, and her final banishment from the Colony. The growing power of the Clergy, as manifested by this assembly, was however viewed with distrust. The people, still sensitive under the recollection of the persecutions they had endured in their native country, were with difficulty persuaded so far to give it their sanction, as to send delegates. Mr. Endecott attended this Synod and took a deep and active part in the deliberations. With the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson, which divided the Church and even shook its foundations, he was induced by the influence and persuasion of the celebrated Hugh Peter, to declare himself satisfied.[1] Eighty-two prevailing errors were sought out, and received public censure as heretical. After this time, we are told, Mr. Endecott never engaged in any new scheme of doctrine or discipline in the Church; — on the contrary, "he began to be as sovereign against all sects, and as a magistrate did not bear his sword in vain."[2] Notwithstanding this, his popularity was not diminished, and he was constantly employed in public service. It was a desideratum, in those days, whether civil government could consist with universal toleration in matters of religion, and "all sorts of consciences." Hutchinson says, "toleration was preached against as a sin in the rulers, which would bring down the judgments of heaven upon the land." The very term was synonymous with indifference, when applied to the subject of religion. A Thanksgiving was observed in the Colony, in October

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[1] "In the Synod of 1637, he [Hugh Peter] had the greatest success in prevailing on Endecott to declare that he was satisfied with the proceedings." — *Bentley's Salem, Mass. Hist. Coll.* 1, vol. vi,. p. 252.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 252 and 255.

following, when devout acknowledgment was made for the decisions of the late Synod.

In 1639, the Colonists, strongly imbued with the sentiments of republicanism, and jealous of the least appearance of an hereditary Aristocracy being introduced among them, were unnecessarily disquieted at what they deemed indications that Governor Winthrop was endeavoring to make his office perpetual, by recommending his brother - in - law, Mr. Downing, as a candidate for an Assistant. Nor did Mr. Endecott, who was always found on the side of popular rights, altogether escape. The Deputies urged, that in compliance with the Charter of the Colony, the magistrates who had served on the Standing Council, should be chosen as magistrates every year. Mr. Endecott, who was of that Council, and had also held the office of Assistant without being annually elected, understood this to be directed at him, and at once manifested his readiness to comply with the desire of the people.

In the beginning of the year 1641, the Colony government, upon advice from England, concluded to send over agents to negotiate with the Parliament, as occasion might offer to further the work of reformation in the Churches there, and for any thing else that might be deemed advantageous to the Colony here. The cause of this movement was the increasing power of the Parliament in opposition to the King, which was thought might result in his treating the non - conformists with more lenity. This measure did not, however, meet with favor from Mr. Endecott, and when the Governor applied to the Church in Salem to spare their pastor, the Rev. Hugh Peter,[1] for this service,

[1] Commonly written Peters, but uniformly spelt by himself Peter.

he openly opposed it. This occasioned some unpleasant passages between him and Mr. Humphrey, an influential member of the Church, whose wife was a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and sister to Lady Arbella Johnson.[1] Mr. Endecott's want of co-operation in this measure was supposed to arise from his unwillingness to part with Mr. Peter; but this was by no means certain. His ostensible ground was, "that officers should not be taken from their Churches for civil occasions. That it would be reported in England, that we were in such want, as that we had sent to England to beg relief." This he considered a libel upon the goodness of God, and he disdained any such construction of their proceedings. To his perception they had more to fear than to hope from the Mother Country. One can here discern, that there were already minds panting after the ultimate independence of this country; minds and spirits too, which even at that period of its infancy, disdained the idea of her inadequacy to take care of and provide for herself. A vision of his country's future greatness must then have been passing before his imagination. Already the seeds were sown, which were destined to ripen into that glorious result. The Church returned an answer at that time, that they could not spare Mr. Peter. Happy would it have been for him, if they had never retracted this decision; but upon a further entreaty from the Court they subsequently consented, and Mr. Peter sailed for England, on this mission, by the way of Newfoundland, on the 3d of August following. As is well known, he never returned. After the restoration of Charles the Second, he was

[1] This is the same person, who, upon the new organization of the Company in England, 20th October, 1629, was chosen Dep. Governor; but remaining behind until 1631, Thos. Dudley was chosen in his place, and he never filled that station in the Colony. He returned to England with his wife, in 1641, under circumstances which reflect but little credit upon either of them. For account of which, see *Lewis's Lynn*, pp. 77, 78.

executed for his adherence to Cromwell, and his alledged participation in the death of the late King. The Colonists had reason to remember him with gratitude and affection. While he resided among them, he was constantly engaged in devising plans to promote their prosperity and advance their interests. In fact, it was the very pursuit of these, which placed him in the situation which led to his melancholy fate.

During this year, Mr. Endecott was chosen Deputy Governor, and so continued for the two succeeding years. He was also appointed one of a committee to dispose of all lands, and other property belonging to the Company at Cape Ann. He was likewise commissioned by the Court, in conjunction with two others, Mr. Downing, the brother-in-law of Gov. Winthrop, and Mr. Hathorne, to have nineteen copies of the Laws, Liberties, and forms of Oaths, written off, and to subscribe them with their own hands; and the Court decreed that no copies should be considered authentic which were without their signatures.

In 1642, he was chosen one of the Corporation of Harvard University.

During the following year, (1643,) the perplexing troubles commenced in the Colony respecting D'Aulney and La Tour, two rival Frenchmen at Acadia. The former commanded West, and the latter East, of the River St. Croix, by virtue of commissions from D'Razilly, to whom the King of France, in 1632, had granted all the lands around that Bay and River. Razilly dying soon afterwards, both these Frenchmen claimed a general command of Acadia, and hostilities commenced between them. In order to interest the Massachusetts Colony in his favor, La Tour invited the inhabitants of Boston to a free trade with his Colony, and D'Aulney threatened to make prizes of any vessels which

came to La Tour. While affairs were in this belligerant attitude, La Tour came to Boston to solicit aid to remove his adversary. The Governor (Winthrop,) laid his request before such of the Magistrates and Deputies as were near Boston. They decided not to grant him any direct assistance, but permitted him to hire any vessels in the harbor, and to engage any persons who might wish to enter into his service. He was also allowed to land and exercise his men, and view the means of defence; which gave great umbrage to the inhabitants generally. Mr. Endecott, who was then Deputy Governor, took the popular side in this difficulty, and wrote the following letter to Governor Winthrop. The language is firm and decided, yet mild and temperate.

" Deare Sir:

" I am glad that La Tour hath not ayd from us; and I could wish hee might not have any from the shipps; for as long as La Tour and D'Aulney are opposites, they will weaken one another. If La Tour should prevail against him, we shall undoubtedly have an ill neighbour. His father and himselfe, as I am informed, have shed the blood of some English already, and taken away a pinnace and goods from Mr. Allerton. It were (I think) good that, that business were cleared before he had either ayd or libertie to hire shipps, — yea or to depart.

" Sir, it is not the manner abroad to suffer strangers to view forts, or fortifications, as it seems these French have done. I must needes say that I feare wee shall have little comfort in having any thing to doe with these *idolatrous* French. The country hereabouts is much troubled that they are so entertayned, and have their libertie, as they have, to bring their soldiers ashore, and to suffer them to trayne their men. And great jealousies there are, that it is not D'Aulney that is aymed at, seeing such a strength will neither sute such a poor designe, and La

Tour a man of weake estate, as it is said. Wherefore other men's hands are employed, and purses too for some other purpose. But I leave all these things to your serious considerations, desireing the Lord to guide you therein to the glory and peace of the Church here, to whose grace I commit you, and humblie rest,

Yours trulie ever,

"19th of 4th mo., 1643. Jo: Endecott."

Subsequently a spirited remonstrance, or as Mr. Endecott calls it, a "protestation," was got up at Ipswich, and signed by Richard Saltonstall and many others, dated the 14th of the 5th mo., (July) 1643. It condemned in no measured terms the conduct of Governor Winthrop in this affair. These proceedings against the Governor awakened the sympathy of Mr. Endecott, and met with his warmest disapprobation, as the following consolatory letter will show.

"Dearest Sr

"I finde that your troubles are many, and especiallie about this French busines. The Lord in mercie support you. I am much grieved to heare what I heare. And I see more of ye spiritte of some men, than ever I thought I should see. The Lord rebuke Satan: Sr be of good comfort, I doubt not but that or God that is in heaven, will cary yo above all the injuries of men; ffor I know ye would not permitt any thinge, much less *act* in any thinge, that might tend to the least damage of this people; and this I am assured of, that most of God's people heere about us, are of ye same minde: the rumoures of the countrie, you know they rise out of ignorance principallie, and much out of feares; wherefore I pray you, let there be satisfaction given as soon as you convenientlie can, in the way you

wrote mee of; ffor I finde the spiritts of men in this countrie are too quick and forward — I cannot excuse myself — yet I bless God not to wronge you; but according to the information and lighte I received from you, I acted publiquelie so farre forth, as to break down all prejudice against yourselfe or the rest that advised w^th^ you. Our prayers heere are publiquelie and privately for a good issue of it and that continuallie. I hope God will look upon your sinceritie, and will heare our requests.

"I see no good use of such *protestations*, as I heare of; but they may prove more dangerous than the French busines by farre, if our God hinder not. However it will be of use, God directinge to make a *holy* use of it.

"Touching my coming to Boston about the Dutch busines,[1] I cannot see how it will be of any use, for the messenger cannot have a determinate answer till the Generall Court, and to-morrow we have appointed many of the towne for the working of our fort, which unless I be there, there will not any thinge be done. And I received not your letter till this day, after our lecture.

"I conceive if you do any thinge about Mr. Oatelyes busines, that you will also be pleased to appoint some day, and grant some summons to him, that hee may bring in his witnesses, that there may not be any just ground of exceptions given, for he speaks as if he were much wronged in all the testimonies taken against him, and saith he can disprove them:

"Touching the note about Bushrode, I shall bringe it with mee (God willing) the next Court.

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[1] Troubles with the Dutch at Hartford, (Conn.) Vide *Savage's Winthrop*, 2 vol., pp. 129, 130.

"The Lord our good God uphold and continue you amongest us to doe yet further service to whose grace I committ you,

"Yours ever trulie to serve,

"Salem, 26th 5th mo., '43. Jo: Endecott."

The foregoing letter is transcribed from the original, now found among the papers of Gov. Endecott, in a very good state of preservation. The chirography is handsome, but difficult to read, the characters being those used at the beginning of the 17th century. Notwithstanding the lapse of two hundred years, the sealing wax still bears the perfect impression of the flesh of his thumb, where he pressed it down on account of its thickness. Its subscription is "To the right worshipfulle John Winthroppe, Esq., Governr. at Boston, Dl." The seal is a death's head and cross bones, an apt emblem of the gloomy minds, and tastes of our Puritan fore-fathers. On the outer circle is the name of "John Garrad."[1] This was an impression from a signet ring which he wore upon the little finger of his right hand.[2]

The ingenuousness of Mr. Endecott's mind is apparent in every sentiment of the preceding letter. "I find the spiritts of men in this

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[1] What connexion, if any, existed between him and the person bearing that name, or whether there is any affinity in the etymology of the two names, cannot now be ascertained. John Garrad or Garrard was of highly respectable descent, and among the distinguished Commoners of England. One of the name, a contemporary of Mr. Endecott, was made a Baronet in the nineteenth year of the reign of James the First, and served the office of Sheriff of Herts three years in the following reign. His father had been Lord Mayor of London, in 1601 — he died 1625, and was interred in Saint Magnus Church, where a handsome monument is erected to his memory. We do not learn that either father or son were Puritans. The fact that one held office under James and the other under Charles, is in truth collateral evidence to the contrary.

[*Burke's Commoners of England.*

[2] As seen in his original portrait. Gov. Dudley probably wore a ring with a similar devise, as we should conclude from an anagram sent him in 1645, beginning,

"A death's head on your hand you need not weare,
A dying head you on your shoulders beare."

countrie are too quick and forward, — I cannot excuse myselfe, — yet I bless God not to wrong you," is a liberal and frank confession of contrition for the part he had taken in the censure recently cast upon the worthy Governor. The caution and advice not to act without mature deliberation "about Mr. Oatelyes busines," — giving him time to "bring in his witnesses, that there may be no just ground of exceptions given," is indicative of his love of justice and equity; — the essential attribute of all good magistrates.

The following letter from Deputy Governor Endecott to Governor Winthrop, will add to the many proofs we already have, of the care with which the government, at that time, watched over the morals and conduct of the people.

"Dearest Sir,

"I heard nothing further of the Gloucester busines till the 3d day of this week at even, when I received a letter from Mr. Blinman,[1] together with a complaint of the towne against Griffin's companie for several misdemeanors, and at the foot of the complaint a reference from yourselfe and three other magistrates to mee for the redresse of them. I therefore despatched away a messenger betimes the next morning, with a letter to Mr. Griffin, that hee would send me such of his men, whose names I had underwritten his letter, to answer to the misdemeanors of Sabbath breaking, swearing, and drunkenness: and withal I sent a letter with instructions to Mr. Blinman with a warrant addressed to the constable, That if Mr. Griffin would not send his men, that the constable should attach their persons, and bring

[1] The Clergyman at that place, a Church having been established there the previous year.

them before mee: If they did resist or refuse, not to strive with them, nor use any provoking terms, but to take witness of their carriadge, and to return mee an answer; which here I have sent you enclosed. I would have proceeded against them according to your directions (to wit) by force; but I had rather if you see good, trye first another way; which is, to send a prohibition under your and divers of the magistrates hands: besides forbidding Mr. Stephens and the rest of the shippe carpenters there, or any where within this jurisdiction, upon some penaltie, to work a stroke of worke more upon Mr. Griffins shippe, till they had further order from the Governor, &c. I desire to heare from you what you would have done. In the mean tyme I have sent away another letter to Mr. Griffin, wishing him to counsell his men (if he cannot command them) to submit to authoritie, seeing they stand out to their own loss and disadvantage. What his return will be, you shall heare as soon as I can send it.

"I pray you good Sir, let me be excused from coming to this Court, for I am not fitted for Winter journies, and for such bad wayes as we must pass. I want much to heare of your sonnes iron and steele. If the countrie will not be encouraged by so useful a design to enlardge themselves for the advantage of it, I know not what will.

"The Lord, our good God, in mercie keep you and yours, to whose grace I commit you and rest,

"Yours trulie and unfeignedly,

"Salem, 1st 10th mo., 1643. (December.) Jo: Endecott."

"I am glad to heare of your sonne Mr. Stephens safe return, together with his beloved. I desire to be kindly remembered to them both.

The preceding letter shows that mildness and forbearance were not

always incompatible with his warm and ardent temperament. A moderation is here exhibited, alike creditable to him as a magistrate, and a man. Although the laws had been violated and public morals outraged, a course of entreaty and persuasion was preferred to severity, as likely to produce more beneficial results; and this too, regardless of directions from superior authority. The very reverse of this, is the impression usually given of his character and conduct.

At this period a confederation was formed between Massachusetts, New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth, styled the UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND. In all matters, whether in peace or war, which related to the general welfare, they agreed to be governed by a majority of Commissioners chosen by each Colony. In their individual jurisdiction, they were to be entirely distinct and independent of each other. Thus was forged the first links in the chain, which was to bind together the present family of republics.

During this year (1643,) a vessel of about one hundred tons burthen, belonging to the Earl of Warwick, visited Boston. She was commanded by one Chaddock, or as Mr. Endecott calls him, "Haddock," a dissolute man, who had a crew like himself. They caused much trouble to Governor Winthrop and the Colonists generally. His object was to transport passengers, to people the Island of Trinidada, but none could be prevailed upon to remove. Failing in this, he employed his vessel in the service of La Tour, and sailed for Acadia. On his return a pinnace of about thirty tons, belonging to this Captain, was blown up near Castle Island. Five men were killed and three others wounded. In reference to this affair, Mr. Endecott wrote the following letter to Governor Winthrop. It is here transcribed from the original.

" Dearest Sir,

" I must needs acknowledge I was somewhat grieved when I hearde of Haddock's cariadge to yourselfe, and Mr. Payne's staying aboard that they could not be commanded ashore upon any occasion. I thought then of Castle Island, that it might be of good use to controle such fellowes: But to be of any strength to yor towne or countrie, I cannot see it. I verily think that the countrie will be verie willing that there may be a fort there, built at the chardges of the townes thereabouts: And to understand their willingness or consent to it, I think it may be done by what is propounded, viz., to send to the magistrates and deputies, or if you see good to the magistrates and deputies of the several shores, who may easily come together without any chardge to the countrie.

" We have here in Essex appointed a day to meet in Salem, viz., the twenty-second of the next month, to consider something for the Common-wealth, according to an order of Court. Now then, I think it will be soon enough to send in our counsell or consent thereon, seeing little can be done to the work in the mean tyme.

" I heare you have great sights upon the water, seen between the Castle and the towne, men walking on the water in the night, ever since the shippe was blown up: or fire in the shape of men: there are verie few do believe it, yet here is a great report of it, brought from thence the last day of the week.

" I am glad that the Mohaks newes is false. The maid is now going along wth us to Orchard, where yr sonne shall be heartilie welcome.

" The Lord continue peace unto us if it be his blessed will, to whose grace I commit you and ever rest,

" Your assured loving friend and servant,

" 29th of the 11th mo., 1643. Jo: Endecott."

Upon the suggestion contained in this letter, the fort at Castle Island, which had been dismantled a few years before, and allowed to decay, was rebuilt the following year at the expense of the six neighboring towns. The superstition of the times is manifested by the allusion to the "great sights upon the waters." He remarks "there are verie few who believe it," but does not intimate the state of his own mind upon this subject; a belief however in supernatural appearances was almost universal at that period.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Endecott Governor — Improvements in the Legislature — Misunderstandings there — D'Aulney and La Tour troubles settled — Civil War rages in England — Perplexities arising therefrom in the Colony — Introduction of Free Schools — Succeeded as Governor by Dudley — Appointed Sergeant Major General and Commissioner — Letter to Governor Winthrop — Copper Mine.

We have now arrived at the year 1644, when the increasing influence and popularity of Mr. Endecott insured his election as Governor, and Mr. Winthrop was chosen Deputy Governor. On the election of Mr. Endecott, the claim of Salem to be made the seat of government, was again revived, and it would be fair to infer from his well known attachment to this place, that the project met with his hearty co-operation. In fact, it has been asserted that he was pledged to the Deputies from Essex, to use his influence to effect this object, should he be elected Governor; and that he owed in some measure his election to this very circumstance. However this may be, the effort was not successful, and Boston still continued to be the Capital.

During this year of his administration, improvements in the mode of transacting business in the Legislature, were introduced. The Magistrates and Deputies, for the first time, now held their sessions apart; — and it required the concurrence of both bodies, to make any act valid. The office of a speaker to the Deputies, was also introduced this year for the first time, and filled by an Essex man, Mr. William Hathorne.

Jealousies and misunderstandings had unhappily for some time existed between these two branches of the government, owing in a great degree

to the duties and prerogatives of each not being sufficiently defined. The Magistrates assuming the right to conduct all the affairs of the Colony, when the Deputies were not in session, and the latter body challenging their right to do so, to the extent they had done. A Special Court was in consequence held this year, to take the subject into consideration, and endeavor to devise some measures which might serve to allay this unnatural animosity. It was finally calmed, though not wholly adjusted, by the efforts of the Elders, to whom their differences were referred.

The conflicting claims of D'Aulney and La Tour were finally settled during this year, by the Government of France supporting the claim of D'Aulney. His Deputy thereupon came to Boston, and concluded a treaty with Governor Endecott,[1] which was subsequently ratified by the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England.

At this period the civil war in England had assumed a very serious aspect. Open hostilities had already commenced between the Royalists and the Parliament forces in Bristol and Gloucester, and it required

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[1] Of the debate with the Commissioner which preceded the final adjustment, Winthrop says, — "Upon these things we discoursed half a day, sometimes with our Governour in French, and otherwhile with the rest of the Magistrates in Latin." The treaty was written in Latin, which Mr. Savage thinks was done by Winthrop, "as from what is said above it may reasonably be concluded that *Endecott was not sufficiently versed in the learned language.*"—Savage's Winthrop, 2 vol., pp. 196 and 197. — We have, however, arrived at a different conclusion. It was natural that the Commissioner, (MARIE, supposed a friar,) should prefer to discourse in his own language with those who understood it; and with those who did not, he availed himself of the language in which he could best make himself intelligible. It by no means follows that Mr. Endecott did not understand both languages: — French was not so common an acquirement in those days as Latin. For proof of Mr. Endecott's proficiency in the French language, see his certificate to a translation of a Grant from Sir William Alexander, a Scotsman, to Sir Claude St. Estienne, "of all the countrey of New Scotland called by the French the countrey of Acadia," originally written in French, — among Hazard's Hist. Coll., vol. I., p. 310.

very cautious and skilful management on the part of the Colonists, to steer a middle course between the two conflicting parties. The more so, as the bias of the people was unfriendly to the King. Still divisions on the subject were taking place among the Colonists, and the Court declared that the Parliament were only "against the malignant papists and delinquents" of England, but not the King, and therefore they "forbid any to declare themselves for the King against the Parliament." To heighten the perplexity of their situation, the Captain of a ship of war of twenty-four guns, belonging to London, and bearing the commission of the Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral, had taken possession of a ship from Bristol in Boston Harbor. This by many was considered a violation of their Patent. By order of Deputy Gov. Winthrop, the Captain of the man-of-war was directed to present his commission to Governor Endecott, who was then residing in Salem, and by him it was laid before a meeting of Magistrates and Elders. Much discussion arose, but in conclusion it was not thought expedient to oppose the Parliament's commission, but to allow the Captain to retain his prize.

The cause of learning, as a necessary means of spreading a general intelligence throughout the community, had ever received the fostering care and attention of the Colonists from the first moment of their landing on these shores. It was placed almost side by side with the cause of religion itself. In the first clearing that was made in the forest, the meeting house and the school house were seen rising up simultaneously. A college had already been established at Cambridge, and provision made by several towns "for the maintaining of poore skollers." Salem, towards whose growth and prosperity Mr. Endecott's untiring exertions had ever been most earnestly directed, and in the

supervision and management of whose internal, as well as external concerns, he was constantly engaged, was one of the first to introduce into its domestic policy the free school system, which has since become the pride and boast of the whole country. It is interesting, at this time, to notice it in its incipient stages. The plain and quaint language of the record shows the simple state of society at that period. September 30, 1644, "Ordered that a note be published on next Lecture day, that such as have children to be kept at schoole would bring in their names, and what they will give for one whole year, and also that if anie poor bodie hath children or a childe to be put to schoole, and not able to pay for their schooling, that the towne will pay it, by a rate.[1] The "seaven men chosen this yeare," and under whose direction this order was issued, were John Endecott, William Hathorne, William Lord, Jeffry Massey, Peter Palfrey, Thos. Gardner, and Henry Bartholomew. If this had been all we ever heard of any of them, their names would deserve immortality as the benefactors of their race. Mr. Endecott was also Governor of the Colony, and Mr. Hathorne Speaker to the Deputies at the same time. The salary of the Governor this year, was one hundred pounds.

In 1645, Mr. Endecott was succeeded as Governor by Mr. Dudley. But other offices of honor and trust awaited him. He was this year appointed Sergeant Major General of Massachusetts, — the highest

[1] We find in the Records of the Quarterly Court, under date of March 30th, 1641, three years previous to the above, — "Col. Endecott moved about the ffences and about a ffree skoole, and therefore wished a whole towne meeting about it; therefore that Goodman Auger warn a towne meeting, the second day of the week." This, says Felt, is the *first written intimation* we have of instruction without price among our settlers. This applied to Salem. — *Felt's Annals.*

military office in the Colony. He had previously held a commission of Colonel in the first regiment formed in Salem, Saugus, Ipswich, and Newbury, in the year 1636, when John Winthrop, Jr., son of the Governor, was his Lieutenant Colonel. He was also elected an Assistant, and one of the United Commissioners.

In 1646, three Special Commissioners were appointed to treat with D'Aulney upon certain complaints preferred by him against the Colonists. Instructions were drawn up by a Committee of five, among whom was Mr. Endecott. In reference to this business he wrote the following letter to Governor Winthrop.

"Dearest Sir,

"I understand by Mr. Downing that you have received letters from Mons. D'Aulney, and that he will send to us the 7th month. I could wish if you see it good, that the Commissioners were acquainted with it, I mean of the several Provinces, and moved if they see good to be here, because I desire they may be as thoroughlie engaged in what is done, or may be concluded as ourselves.

"If you intend to call a General Court now, it will be in the middest of all our occasions, and the countrie will much suffer in it. If it be any time before D'Aulney's messenger comes to us it will be well enough as farre as I can conceive; and if it were just at the time it would be better; but I conceive that as uncertaine, unless he hath appointed a certayne tyme: but I leave all to your better considerations. I humbly thank you for all the newes you have sent us at several tymes: we find here the hand of God much upon severall men's grayne by caterpillars, which threaten a dearth. "The

Lord fit us for what he shall call us unto, to whose blessing I commit you, and all yours, and rest

"Yours unfeignedly, Jo: ENDECOTT."

"My wiffe desires to have her service remembered to Mrs. Winthroppe.

"9th of the 5th mo., 1646. (July.)"

At this time, amid his numerous public duties and engagements, we find him interesting himself to devise means to prevent the emigration of young men of education who for want of encouragement, were leaving the country in pursuit of employment abroad. It was certainly important to the best interests of the Colony that this emigration should in some way be arrested, lest by lowering the standard of intelligence the minds of the people should become debased. The only feasible mode, however, in which it could be attained, was to remove the cause, which was leading them to take this step. Mr. Endecott, therefore, as one of the United Commissioners in 1646, signed a recommendation that "poore schollars be employed in the countrie, that they may be encouraged to live at home."

In 1648, he was continued an Assistant, Sergeant Major General, and Commissioner of the Province.

This year a copper mine was discovered upon his land on Ipswich River, near a place called at that time "blind hole." It was tested by a Mr. Leader, overseer of the Iron Works at Lynn, who must have given a favorable opinion of it, as Mr. Endecott in 1651, while Governor, petitioned the General Court for the grant of a wood lot in its neighborhood, to enable him to work it with more ease.

In this petition he states that he had "already been at some charges for the finding and melting of copper ore, and is still in prosecution of bringing it to perfection, by sending over to Sweden and Germany for persons well skilled in the art, to assist him." This mine was, however, subsequently abandoned, it not yielding sufficient to encourage him to work it.

Such was the value of fruit trees and the cheapness of land at this period, that we find Governor Endecott this year (1648,) exchanged five hundred apple trees of three years growth, with a William Trask, for two hundred and fifty acres of land. Their relative value being two trees for an acre. At this time there was so great a scarcity of money in the Colony, that all trade or traffic between the inhabitants was necessarily conducted by means of barter.[1] The following transaction will illustrate this want of a circulating medium. In 1648, Mr. Endecott purchased of Henry Chickering a farm of three hundred acres for £160, and it was stipulated that the payment was to be made "in cattell or English graine at the generall rate of the countrey, or as twoe indifferent men shall judge: The one to be chosen by the said Chickering or his assignes, the other by the said John Endecott or his assignes — the corne to be delivered at Salem where the said Henry Chickering or his assignes shall appoint. The cattell to be prized at the farme were they are in Salem, and driven half way to Dedham at the charge of the said John Endecott."

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[1] From 1645 to 1649, there was a great and fearful embarrassment as to hard money and every species of exchange. The main cause of this was that the foundation of all confidence was broken up, and inhabitants continually emigrated to other parts in consequence of the contentions in England, between the Royalists and Parliament.— *Felt's Ac't. Mass. Cur.*, pp. 26, 27.

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of Winthrop — Chosen Governor — Troubles during his Administration — Protest against Long Hair — Mint established — Removes to Boston — Grant of Land on Ipswich and Merrimack Rivers — Letter to John Leverett.

Upon the death of Governor Winthrop, which took place on the 26th of March, 1649, at the age of 63, Mr. Endecott was again chosen Governor, to which office he was annually elected until the time of his death, with the exception of the years 1650 and 1654, when he held that of Deputy Governor. This was an eventful period in the history of the Colony, as well as of the Mother Country. The violent death of Charles the First, the usurpation of Cromwell, and the restoration of the Stuart family, took place while he was at the helm of public affairs. The difficulties and perplexities of his situation during this period, were very great. But all his public acts are marked with a moderation and wisdom which do honor to him as an experienced statesman. Had he possessed less integrity or firmness, had his mind been at all vascillating, the consequences might have been disastrous to the best interests of the Colony. But with an eye keen to discern the approach of danger, and a mind fruitful in resources to avert it, he steered the ship of state among shoals and quick sands, through difficult and dangerous passages, amid storms which threatened to involve her in utter ruin, and at last not only brought her off with honor into a safe and secure position unscathed, but by his energy and decision, contributed to promote her future welfare and prosperity. The Colony with a wise forecast, acknowledged allegiance to Cromwell and to the Parliament only so far as was necessary to keep up

appearances and avoid giving offence, but no further, and they were careful to indulge in no marks of disrespect to the memory of the late King.

On the accession of Mr. Endecott once more to the gubernatorial chair, he with the Deputy Governor Dudley and assistants entered into a Protest against the practise of wearing long hair, "after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, contrary to the rule of God's word;" and requested the Elders to use means for its suppression among the members of their churches. This was in accordance with a custom which had prevailed in England since the year 1641; the favorers of Parliament being called Round Heads, because they wore short hair.[1] Our Puritan fathers, ever fond of fortifying themselves with Scripture authority on all occasions, took shelter in this affair behind the injunctions of St. Paul. Governor Endecott has been very unjustly held responsible for this Protest, when in fact the views it exhibited had no claim to originality; — for near six hundred years the thunders of the Church had at times been levelled against this practise, in canons and anathemas of excommunication.[2] We contend that it is contrary to the true principles

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[1] The Rev. Mr. Felt remarks in his Annals of Salem, that "in accordance with such use there can be no wonder Mr. Endecott and his associates should have done as they did. Not a few writers in our land mention the Protest against long hair as having originated with him, when in fact the views it expressed had been for years prevailing, and were not only cherished in this country, but also in England.

[2] Anslem, Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced an anathema of excommunication on all who wore long hair, for which pious zeal he was much commended. There is also a canon still extant, under date of 1096, importing that such as wore long hair should be excluded from the Church while living, or being prayed for when dead. Serlo, a Norman bishop, having converted Henry I. and his courtiers in 1104, by a sermon preached before them against long curled hair, gave them no time to change their minds, but immediately pulled a pair of shears out of his sleeve, and performed the operation with his own hand.

[*Black. Ed. Mag.* vol. 56, p. 460.

of equity for historians thus to select and garble a few isolated acts in his life or administration, like those of veils and long hair, and show them forth as illustrating the character of the man. As if from mere whim or caprice he had stepped aside from the usual custom and practise of other legislators of his day, and availed himself of his official station and influence to carry into effect certain peculiar and abstract notions of his own. Such evidently was not the fact, however lamentably successful some writers may have been in giving this impression. All interference in matters of this kind was in strict accordance with the spirit of the times, and considered as no violation of the rights of the people. The views expressed were not peculiar to any one man, but pervaded nearly the whole community.

In the year 1652, under his administration, a mint was established in the Colony for coining shillings, sixpences and threepences. No other of the American Colonies ever presumed to coin metal into money. It was however passed over by Cromwell and the Parliament, and continued after the restoration for more than twenty years. While we honor in our ancestors these early aspirations after independence, we cannot but wonder at their temerity in adopting a measure in direct violation of the known laws of England, which reserved to the crown alone, the exclusive privilege of coining money as one of its most important prerogatives; and any infringement of it was considered as high treason. It was, however, so managed by the Colonists that it was attended with no loss to their interests.

About the year 1655, Governor Endecott removed from Salem to Boston, upon the request of the Court that he would do so, "if his own necessary occasions would permit." Although the reasonableness of

this request must have been apparent to him, the step could not have been taken without strong feelings of repugnance. It must have been a severe struggle for him to have separated himself from the place of his adoption, towards which he had ever felt and exhibited the most ardent attachment. He was to leave friends, too, endeared to him as companions from the infancy of the settlement, with whom he had shared perils, dangers and sufferings, almost too great for human endurance; — with whom he had also taken sweet counsel in seasons of gloomy despondency, when the last hope of earthly comfort appeared to be leaving them forever. Although thus called upon to sever ties cemented by the associations of upwards of a quarter of a century, his fondest sympathies and warmest affections ever delighted to linger in gratitude around the spot consecrated in his recollection as the one, which first stretched forth its arms to receive and shelter him from the persecution and intolerance of his mother country. His residence in Boston was on the beautiful lot lately owned and occupied by Gardner Greene, now Pemberton Square.[1] All lovers of the picturesque will regret the transformation which the march of improvement has recently effected in this place.

In the year 1657 he received a further grant of one thousand acres of land on Ipswich River, for seventy-five pounds paid by him and Mrs. Endecott.[2] This land, or a part of it, was afterwards exchanged

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[1] Snow's History of Boston.

[2] This is according to the record, but I have in my possession the copy of a plan of his farm of 500 acres at Penicoke, now Concord, N. H., on which I find the following: "John Endecot, Esq., Governor, his farme at Penicoke upon the north-east of the Merrimack River, containing about 464 acc: and an Iland of 36 acc: which five hundred is part of that thousand acc: which was granted him by this Hon. Court, May 7, 1657. Andover, May 5th, 1661, by Jonath. Danforth, Survr." It is endorsed by Governor Endecott, "Plott of my 500 acer. att Penacooke 1661."

for Hog Island, near Falmouth, which was granted him by the government in the year 1661.

He had now (1657,) entered upon his seventieth year, with a shattered constitution, and health seriously impaired, as we learn by the following letter to Mr. John Leverett, the Colonial Agent in England.

"Sir,

"I cannot write unto you by a more faithfulle friend[1] than I have done, who is able at large, to relate to you how things in general stand here. And that doth save mee some labour which at this tyme is a favour to mee. For in the extremitie of heate and after a long sickness, I am very faint; not fitt to doe any thinge, yet I cannot but by these heartilie salute you in the Lord giving you many thanks for what you sent me. For all good newes is welcome to us as you know full well. Yet I cannot for the present answer your expectations touching Road Island and Clarke & Holmes,[2] but I have acquainted the rest of the Magistrates with your letter, who were all ready to gather up sufficient testimonie to prove what you spake to the Protector, and enough to satisfy (we doubt not) your opponent, if he be a lover of the truth. Onlie we would have the Generall Court act with us therein, which will not meet till September next, when I hope I shall procure a full answer to your former and last letters.

"What the end is of that point of State to make the Protector, King, I cannot fathom it; unless their proffering and his deniall thereof,

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[1] This "faithfulle friend" was none other than Mrs. Leverett, the wife of the Agent.

[2] Clark & Holmes were Aanabaptists. The former was from Rhode Island. The latter was tried by the Court of Assistants in 1651, and fined £30 for attending a meeting of this sect with Clark at Lynn, — but refusing to pay the fine he was publicly whipped in Boston.

ingratiate him the more in the hearts of the people. The Lord in mercie guide all to his glorie, and the good of those commonwealths over whom he hath sett him. If there be any opportunitie I pray you write mee a word about it, and other occurrences that may fall out. I cannot be sufficientlie thankfulle for what you wrote mee last. Great motions there are in the world which the Lord direct and turn to his glorie, the overthrow of his enemies, and the peace and welfare of his own people, Which is the prayer of Sir,

"Your verie loveing friend and servant,

Jo: ENDECOTT."

"Boston, the 29th 4th mo., (June) 1657."

CHAPTER IX.

Prosperity and Trade of the Colony — Quaker Difficulties —His conduct vindicated — Grant of one fourth of Block Island — His conduct to the Indians.

During the principal part of Mr. Endecott's administration, and particularly from 1655 to 1660, the Colony "under his prudent and equal government,"[1] made rapid progress in all things necessary to its respectability and importance. Its numbers and wealth rapidly increased; its trade flourished; and its foreign intercourse became every day more widely extended. Free admission was allowed to vessels of all nations, and the importations of all commodities was subject to no incumberance or restraint. The Colony took no notice of any act of Navigation, Plantation, or other laws made in England for the regulation of trade, and they were never recognized as in force here, unless required by their own legislature. But during this period of their prosperity the religious atmosphere was overcharged with dissention, and sectarianism laid its withering hand heavily upon them. All the troubles heretofore experienced in the Churches, from the peculiar views of Mr. Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, were as nothing to those which now commenced with a sect of religionists called "Quakers," who first began to make their appearance in the Colony in the year 1656, and filled the minds of the inhabitants with consternation and alarm. Strange as it may appear, these people sought most those places where they met with the greatest opposition and persecution. They shunned Rhode Island

[1] Mather's Magnalia, p. 18.

for the want of it, although even there Roger Williams, with all his liberal views of religious toleration, was constrained to declare, 'that there are bounds of order which should be observed by all sects, and that the Quakers had surpassed them.' They came into Massachusetts knowing the strong feeling in the public mind against them. They exhibited a perverseness in the very outset. No place was too sacred to be disturbed by the outbreaks by these religious agitators. The Church and the Council room shared alike. Their violent and extravagant conduct incensed the Court and the people. They disclaimed all allegiance to any form of government not in the hands of men of their own principles; and publicly insulted and reviled the Governor in the open streets, denouncing judgment against him for restraints upon their liberties. Their desperate conduct should offer some apology for the severe treatment they experienced both in England and this country; though we are free to admit that their punishment was often disproportionate to their offence. We would fain draw a veil over the proceedings of this period, which were dictated, we believe, by a pious but mistaken zeal, did not justice forbid it. We can only speak of the Quaker persecution, as it is commonly called, in a very general way. To give a detailed and circumstantial account of the causes which moved our forefathers to oppose them with so much rigor, or to dwell upon the merits of the controversy, we believe would be alike tedious and unprofitable. At first, this sect was proceeded against in the Colony with much moderation. They were privately admonished by the Governor at his house, and their conduct and language on such occasions were rude and indecorous in the extreme. The first law against them with the penalty of death, was passed in 1658. The Commissioners of the United Colonies exasperated by their obstinacy and violence, had recommended this measure to the several Colonies. Endecott is

said to have been in favor of it. He certainly gave it his official sanction. But whatever might have been his own private views, he exhibited no vindictive feelings; nor did he willingly permit the authorized severities of that law towards those miserably deluded and misguided fanatics. We speak this rather with reference to their conduct than to their principles. That unostentatious, orderly, and peace-loving sect of the present day, are in strong contrast with the refractory and violent ranters of former times. Their turbulent conduct at that period infused into all minds a belief that they were dangerous enemies to the liberties of the state, and "fit instruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan."[1] Governor Endecott, therefore, felt himself bound in conscience both to God and man, "to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them," hoping that the severity of the penalty would deter them from returning into the Colony after the sentence of banishment. But not realizing "what manner of spirit they were of," he was mistaken; and their "wittingly rushing themselves thereupon [the sword] being their own act," they were conceived by the government "guilty of the crime of bringing their blood upon their own heads."[2] Four victims suffered the penalty of the law for their obstinacy, rather than for their peculiar belief.

In the case of Mary Dyar, we are told that Governor Endecott was

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[1] Many years after this, Satan made another assault upon God's poor people here by stirring up the Quakers to come amongst us, both men and women. But, blessed be God, the Government and Churches both did bear witness against them, and their loathsome and pernicious doctrine; for which they were banished out of this jurisdiction, not to return without license, upon pain of death. The reason of that law was, because God's people here could not worship the true and living God, as he hath appointed us in our public assemblies, without being disturbed by them; and other weighty reasons, &c.; which law was made for our peace and safety. — *Roger Clap's Memoir.*

[2] Hazard's Hist. Coll., vol. 2, p. 581.

so desirous to save her life, that he even suggested to her the subterfuge, so at variance with his own ideas of morality, of denying her identity and thereby putting the Court to the proof. But so far from availing herself of this suggestion, she persisted the more upon her being the self same person whom they had previously banished. Even at the gallows her execution was delayed and her life offered to her again and again, by the officer who was ordered to attend her for that express purpose, to the last moment, if she would promise to leave the Colony never more to return without leave from authority. But she would accept her life upon no other condition, than the repeal of the law under which she was about to suffer.

The conduct of Governor Endecott in the proceedings of that period has ever been considered a dark stain upon his escutchon. Yet while we admit those sanguinary enactments, especially when contrasted with the present unrestrained exercise of all religions, and shades of religions belief, in most christian communities, to be blemishes of a deep dye on his administration, we think they certainly ought not to be regarded as such upon his moral character. History, we believe, has done him a wrong in thus offering him up as an oblation for the prevailing intolerance of all Christendom at that period. It was not the cause of religion alone, which was thought to be endangered by the dissemination and triumph of such principles, but the overthrow of all civil government was looked upon as the ultimate result. Not a few writers in our land have endeavored to cast upon him the whole responsibility and obloquy of this dark page in our early history. True, he was the official organ through whom was carried into effect the established laws of the Colony, and "vox populi" was believed to be "vox dei." But so far as he was individually concerned, we think his motives were

pure and elevated, and that all his actions were based upon principle. Without doubt he partook largely of the prevailing prejudices of the day against those people; and the wild spirit of fanaticism found in him a strenuous and energetic opponent. But we hold that all men should be judged according to the light of the age in which they live, and the influences with which they are surrounded. In his dread of unlimited toleration he was not alone; it was the prevailing temper of the times, and his errors in this respect, which he shared in common with the wise and good of his day, arose rather from an infirmity of judgment than any obliquity of heart.

Even the "Simple Cobler of Agawam" abounds in the sharp spirit of rebuke of all opinionists. "Religio docenda est, non coercenda," says that facetious writer, "is a pretty piece of album latinum for some kinds of throats that are willingly sore; but heresis de docenda est, *non* permittanda, will be found a far better diamoran for the gargarisms this age wants, if timely and thoroughly applied." The character of the Colonists had ever been exalted by religious fervour, and their solicitude for the purity of the faith, distinguished them above all others. To their apprehensions and distorted visions, this sect appeared like a hydra in embryo, which if allowed to attain a full stature, would assuredly overthrow both Church and State. Their only chance then, of escape from this dreaded calamity, was to strangle the monster in its infacy. It was an anxious day for the Colonists and spead the pall of sadness around their dwellings. Fasts were observed throughout the Colony "for the prevalence of seducers," and in a certain Church Covenant a clause was inserted of the following import, — "therefore we do covenant by the help of Jesus Christ, to take heed and beware of the leaven of the doctrine of the Quakers." Even in England, in

1656, one of this sect, by order of Parliament, had his tongue bored through with a hot iron. But although the prevalence of a bad custom cannot constitute its entire justification, yet as was said of Isabella the Catholic,[1] with respect to the revival of the inquisition and the persecution of the Jews in Spain, "it should serve to mitigate our condemnation" of Governor Endecott "that he fell into no greater error than was common to the greatest minds" of the age in which he lived.

To the relief of Governor Endecott and the Colony, a mandamus from Charles the Second, dated 9th September, 1661,[2] put a stop to all proceedings against this sect, and such as had been apprehended were directed to be sent to England for trial. Before the receipt of this order, however, all that were in prison had been released and sent out of the Colony. But not in New England alone, as has already been said, was this sect persecuted; — even in England itself, three years after this same Charles' restoration, he wrote thus to Governor Endecott with respect to religious toleration in the Colony: — "We cannot be understood to direct, or wish that *any* indulgence should be granted to persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with *any kind* of government, we have found it necessary, with the

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[1] Prescott.

[2] Of the receipt of this mandamus by the Governor, George Fox in his Journal, p. 326, gives the following account. The commander of the vessel, Ralph Goldsmith, and Samuel Shattuck, a Quaker who had been banished from the Massachusetts Colony, "went through the town (Boston,) to the Governour's John Endecott's door and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the King of England, and they should deliver their message to none but the governour himself. Thereupon they were admitted in, and the governour came to them; and having received the deputation and the Mandamus, he putt off his hat and looked upon them. Then going out he bid the friends follow. He went to the Deputy Governour, and after a short consultation, came out to the friends, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's commands."

advice of our Parliament, to make a sharp law against them *here*, and we are content you do the like *there*."[1]

In 1658, the Court granted Gov. Endecott "for his great service" the fourth part of Block Island. At this time he was also elected President of the body of Colonial Commissioners. He now held the double office of Governor of Massachusetts and President of the United Colonies.

His conduct towards the aborigines, that much abused and injured race, was always marked with forbearance, lenity and mildness. To his eldest son, John, the Indians in 1660, gave a tract of land which he applied to the Court to confirm. The Court declined taking such power on itself; — at the same time however, it passed the following highly complimentary resolve, — that "considering the many kindnesses which were shown the Indians by our honoured Governour in the infancy of these Plantations, for pacifying the Indians, tending to the common good of the Planters; — and in consideration of which the Indians were moved to such a gratuity unto his son, do judge meet to give the petitioner four hundred acres of land."

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[1] The Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, Mass., has given a very able and impartial account of these troubles, in a series of lectures, which we believe has never been published.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Oliver Cromwell — Restoration of the Stuart Family — Complaints against the Colonists — Letter to John Leverett, Colonial Agent in England — Charles II. proclaimed King — Mandamus for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe — His Letter to the Earl of Clarenden thereupon — Explanation of his conduct.

Oliver Cromwell, having died on the 3d of September, 1658, was succeeded by his son Richard, a man of shallow intellect, and wholly destitute of those qualities of mind which were requisite to fit him for his high and hazardous situation. He accordingly resigned his office on the 22d of April, 1659, and Charles the Second was restored to the crown, on the 29th of May, of the following year. Richard had never been acknowledged in the Colony; nevertheless, this was an anxious period for its inhabitants. Petitions and complaints were preferred against them to the King and Parliament. They, however, made representation, on their part, of loyalty to the King, desiring 'that no complaints might make impression on his royal heart against them, nor any alteration imposed on them, till they understood the said complaints, and be heard to speak for themselves.'[1] Accompanying these petitions and representations, Governor Endecott sent the following letter to John Leverett. The original is still preserved among his papers. Superscription, — "For his much honoured and loveing friend,

Capt. Jno. Leverett — These Del."

" Sir,

" By the former shipps you will receive Letters to two noble persons, — by this wee have sent a petition to his Ma^tie^ and a petition

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[1] See Gov. Endecott's letter to the Earl of Clarendon, see page 97.

to the Parliam.t, for the delivery and prosecution whereof, we have thought meete to desire yo.r helpe, and our former experience of your readiness therein w.ch wee cannot but with much thankfulness acknowledge, doth persuade us to rely upon yo.r fidelitie of improoving yo.r interest and paines, so long as yo.r owne occasions shall detain you there, for w.ch wee shall not only acknowledge ourselves yo.r debtors but be ready to discharge ourselves by the first opportunitie; when yo.r owne occasions shall call you thence wee have desired Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Ashusst to take the care of the prosecution of o.r busines, according to the instructions w.ch wee herewith send, w.ch wee desire you to attend and shall pray for yo.r good acceptance and sucesse therein and remain S.r,

"Yo.r assurred loveing friend,

"Boston, 19th October, 1660. Jo: Endecott."

"S.r Accept off my respects and service to you and yo.r wife; these only are Copies of y.r former sent by Mr. William Vessell and Coll.o Browne, I pray hasten y.e delivery of y.e petitions not els but y.t I am Yo.r assured lo. tho' aflicted friend,

Edw. Rawson, Secret.y"

The King was pleased to return a "gracious asnwer" at this time, to their petitions, which was acknowledged by a public Thanksgiving. Still the enemies of the Colony were not idle, nor were the minds of the Colonists easy, as to the course the King intended to pursue towards them. In 1661, upon intelligence from England of what was doing there to the prejudice of the Colony, Endecott fearing lest they should be visited with the heavy rod of oppression for their apparent want of loyalty, did not think it safe delaying any longer to proclaim

the King; — and he called the General Court together for that purpose. A form being agreed upon, the King was publicly proclaimed in the Colony, on the 8th of August of this year, by Secretary Rawson, accompanied with the usual ceremonies on such occasions. Affairs in England for some time after the restoration of Charles, wore a very doubtful aspect, and the Governor was evidently waiting until they became more settled before he allowed any overt act to jeopardize the interests of the Colony.

A mandamus from the King for the apprehension of the regicides, Colonels Whalley and Goffe, who had fled to this country at the restoration, was received on the 6th May of this year. It was dated at Whitehall, the 5th of March, 1660-1, and directed to John Endecott, Governor of Massachusetts, and by him to be communicated to the respective Governors of the United Colonies. Besides being of the Board of Commissioners who tried and condemned the King, Whalley had been a Lieutenant General, and Goffe a Major General, in the service of Cromwell. These unfortunate men were advised to quit the Massachusetts jurisdiction as soon as it was known they were exempted from pardon by the act of indemnity, and before the receipt of the mandamus. They were assisted to do so, and furnished with horses, and a guide to conduct them to New Haven.

In reference to this and various other affairs of the Colony, the Governor wrote the following private letter to the Earl of Clarenden, at that time Lord High Chancellor.[1]

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[1] Mass. Hist. Collection.

"Right Honourable,

"These are to give your honour an account not only of the receipt of your honour's letter bearing date 15th Feb'y, 1660–1, and the enclosed copy of his majestie and councills order in reference to the business of merchants trading in New England, but also of my actings thereupon. Having ordered our Secretary Mr. Edward Rawson, a person of known fidelitie to his majestie, to pursue the directions therein required, I doubt not but he will give your honour a satisfactory account in his returns. At the same time that I received your honor's letter and order, I also received from the Secretary of State, Sir William Morrice, his majestie's most gracious letter in answer to our humble address to his majestie, with his majestie's order for the searching after and apprehending Col. Whalley and Goffe, and sending them over in order to their trial for having a hand in the most horrid murther of our late sovereign, Charles the First, of glorious memory, both which I caused to be printed here, for the better furtherance of his majesty's service. What our Council did in order to the Colonels' apprehension before his majestie's order came to hand, with what zeal and fidelitie the Lord enabled mee to act in sending meet messengers, persons of known fidelitie to his majestie, with instructions and true copies of his majestie's letter, and order for their apprehension to the several governours of the other Colonies, or chief magistrates there, for the better accomplishment of his majestie's just commands, — an account thereof I have transmitted to the honorable Secretaries of State, Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morrice, that so his majestie might understand the sinceritie of my endeavors to serve him. Our Council since having made a proclamation that whosoever shall be found to have a hand in concealing the said colonels, or either of them, shall answer for the same as an offence of the highest nature, and caused

our Secretary to write unto the Governour of New Haven, in our names, to press him to the discharge of his duty (in whose jurisdiction they were lately seen, and as wee are credibly informed by a report given out, that they came to surrender themselves — but they having desired a little time to be in private by themselves, before which pretended time had expired, they were by a youth met creeping through a field of corne [and] made their escape. Yet [wee] are not without hope, that double diligence will be used by them of New Haven, to regain his majestie's favour, and that his majestie therein may have full satisfaction, which I shall not be wanting to endeavour. Since the arrival of the last shippe from England, understanding by several that however wee thought our address to his majestie had been a sufficient proclamation of his majestie and manifestation of our due allegiance, yet that it was expected of his majestie's privy council that wee should formally proclaim his majestie here; whereupon calling our General Court together to make a return of their deep sense of the unspeakable mercy of God, manifested in his majestie's gracious promise not only to protect and defend us in the liberties formerly granted us by his loyal father of glorious memory, but to confirm them to us, and not be behind his royal predecessors, which engageth this poor people on all occasions to manifest their due obedience, and continually to be petitioners to the throne of grace, for his majestie's long and prosperous reign on earth, and that an eternal crown of glorie may be his portion in heaven, when this life shall cease; the Court ordered also his majestie to be proclaimed here, which was done the next day by our Secretary in the best form we were capable of, to the great rejoicing of the people, expressed in their loud acclamations, God save the King! which was no sooner ended, but a troop of horse, four foot companies, then in arms, expressed their joy in their peals; our forts and all the shipps

in our harbour discharged, our Castle concluded with * * * * all thundered out their joy.

"Right honourable, I am the bolder to give your honour the trouble of this short account, that so, if your honour see cause as occasion may present, your honor may be pleased to inform his majestie and appear in our behalf to improve your interests with his majestie, that no complaints may make impression on his royal heart against us, nor any alteration imposed on us till we understand the said complaints, and be heard to speak for ourselves, which we doubt not will be to his majestie's satisfaction, of which your honor's favour, I hope your honour will have no cause to repent. Myself and the people here, as in duty we are bound, shall become suitors to the throne of grace, that the Lord would be pleased to endue your honor with wisdom and suitable abilities to serve him, and his majestie, in your generation, and pour on your head and heart a rich recompense of reward; which is the prayer of him that is

"Right honourable,

"Your honours most humble servant,

"Jo: Endecott."

Although he seldom yielded to expediency, even in matters of State policy, yet the apparent zeal exhibited in this letter to serve his majesty in the apprehension of the regicides, we are constrained to believe has in it more of dissimulation than reality — justified, even viewed politically, only by the exigencies of the times, and the precarious condition of the Colony. So long as they could avoid the suspicion of aiding the escape of these proscribed men, we have no doubt they secretly rejoiced in the failure of their own measures to prevent it. Gov. Endecott, it is true, did not approve of putting the King to death, but the Parliament, and not the Judges, were responsible

for that deed. His trial was a mere mockery of justice. There was consequently every thing to excite the flow of generous sympathy and commiseration towards those unhappy men, doomed to a horrible death, and who had sought in a land of strangers, a refuge from their blood thirsty pursuers. But the important interests which the Colony had at this time involved in all their proceedings, demanded that a show of loyalty should be kept up, aud rendered the course pursued by Gov. Endecott, imperative. The sincerity of his conduct did not, however, altogether escape the suspicion of the restored monarch.

Two agents, Mr. Norton, the Minister at Boston, and Mr. Simon Bradstreet, were sent to England in 1662, to answer certain complaints urged against the Colony. The King had desired that persons should be sent over for that purpose. They undertook the mission with great reluctance, but contrary to their expectations, were very graciously received by the King, who promised to confirm their Charter, and granted them pardon for past errors during the late troubles. This greatly rejoiced the hearts of the Colonists for the time, although the cup thus proffered them, contained some bitter dregs, in the form of exactions as to the general laws of the Colony, the Episcopal mode of worship, the book of common prayer, manner of elections, etc., which they were reluctant to adopt, and the subject was referred from one General Court to another, and was complied with only to a limited extent, and with certain qualifications, during the brief space which remained in the life of the Governor. The King, although he discoursed in fair words, entertained no friendly feelings towards the Colonists, but was waiting a fit opportunity to show them that he was not unmindful of their preference for democracy.

From this period to the time of his death, the Colony enjoyed almost uninterrupted prosperity. Political dissentions of various kinds, were sometimes allowed for a short period to disturb their tranquility, but they were only like occasional ripplings upon the sea of life, and were not permitted to retard the growth of the national welfare. Fears were constantly entertained of the disposition of Charles the Second, respecting the Charter, and finally in 1664, it was committed to the keeping of four trusty persons,[1] to be disposed of as the interests and safety of the Colony should require. It was, without doubt, their intention to preserve the Charter at all hazards.

[1] Bellingham, Leverett, Clark and Johnson.

CHAPTER XI.

Dissolves his Connexion with the Salem Church — His Death and Burial — Not a favorite with Charles the Second — Reasons therefor — His fearless and independent spirit — Reflections at the close of his life — Situation of his Family at the time of his Death — Character of the Colonists generally.

We have seen that Mr. Endecott removed from Salem to Boston in 1655; yet neither he nor Mrs. Endecott dissolved their connexion with the Salem Church until November, 1664. A large and brilliant comet made its appearance on the 17th of November of this year, and continued to the 4th of February following. It was the general belief of that period that comets were omens of great evil. One had appeared just before the death of the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and the death at this time of their aged Governor and the troubles the Colony met with the next year from the King's Commissioners, Hutchinson informs us, tended to confirm the people in their opinions.

In the quaint language of the day, we are told that "old age and the infirmities thereof coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord on the 15th of March, 1665," at the age of seventy-seven, "and was with great honour and solemnity interred at Boston," on the 23d of the same month. His death was easy and tranquil.

"Placidaque ibi demum, morte quievit."

Tradition has handed down the fact that the Chapel Burying Ground was the place of his interment. The exact spot is not now known, and no stone marks the resting place of this intrepid Father of New

England.[1] Yet his name alone will ever be a monument to his memory, more enduring than marble, and as imperishable as the granite hills of his adopted country. Although weakened in his physical powers, he enjoyed the undiminished exercise of his intellectual faculties to the last moment of his existence. Neither were the energies of his character diminished by age. He was as actively engaged in promoting every useful design for the benefit of the Colony in his latter as in his earlier days.

With Charles the Second, Mr. Endecott was not a favorite ruler. The inflexibility and sturdy independence of his character, would not permit him to yield with indifference to any violation of the chartered rights of the Colony, even though it proceeded from royalty itself; and all usurpations of the crown were regarded by him with extreme jealousy. His political bias, too, during the usurpation of Cromwell, was well known to the King. He was also in the Chair when the Commissioners from England arrived in Boston, with powers in many particulars over-riding the Charter, and clothed with authority to strike at the very root of some of the fundamental laws and most cherished rights of the Colony; — and their proceedings "were vigilantly regarded and in several instances strenuously opposed." Soon after their arrival Governor Endecott called a special session of the General Court, which was 'proclaimed by sound of trumpet to be the supremest judicature in all the Province,' and they passed the firm resolve to "adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed, by undoubted right in the sight of God and man," — and the 'Commissioners pretending to hear

[1] According to tradition, his tomb stone was in perfect preservation down to the commencement of the American Revolution, when it was destroyed, with many others, by the British soldiery, at the time they occupied Boston.

appeals was a breach of their privileges, and that they should not permit it."[1] The fearless and independent spirit which pervaded their Councils at this period, was not well adapted to ingratiate their Governor with a selfish and arbitrary sovereign, acting under the baleful influence of profligate counsellors, and surrounded by the poisoned breath of sycophants and flatterers. Their "commonwealth like way of government," was also made known to him by the Commissioners, who poured their numerous complaints into the willing ears of the King. The same firmness and resolution exhibited by the Colonists in the present crisis, was transmitted to their descendants, and distinguished the patriots of '76, upwards of one hundred years later. The Governor was held responsible for these proceedings, and brought by them under the royal displeasure, which manifested itself in an answer to a petition from the Colony, which was prepared the year before his death, in which the King's Secretary was instructed to say, that as "Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected towards his Majestie's person and government, his Majestie would take it well if the people would leave him out from the place of Governor." No greater praise can be awarded him as a fearless supporter of his country's rights than is implied in this very censure. He died, however, before the influence of the recommendation could be ascertained. But, in the language of a writer upon the events of that period, "as his integrity and firmness, in the great political questions then in agitation, merited the confidence and gratitude of his

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[1] The Commissioners "gave out their summons, yea, for our then honored Governour and Company personally to appear before them." But the Lord "stirred up a mighty spirit of prayer in the hearts of his people. This poor country cried, and the Lord heard, and delivered them from all their fears. And the Lord put wisdom and courage into the hearts of his servants then sitting in the General Court, to give such answers and to make such declaration, that it put an end to their Court, and (through God's goodness) to our [troubles at that time about that matter."—*Roger Clap's Memoir.*

country, there can be no doubt that this royal intimation to his prejudice would have been altogether disregarded."[1] The fact of his long continuance in public service, is sufficient proof of the confidence and esteem in which he was held by the people.

After thus portraying his eminent distinction and usefulness as a statesman and benefactor of his country, we deem it unnecessary to measure very exactly the magnitude and extent of his talents, or acquirements as a scholar. Suffice it to observe, they were always found fully equal to any emergencies, in which during the course of a long life, it was his fortune to be placed. We are aware of the attempts which have been made, by many writers, to degrade them; but we have been unable to discover, upon the closest scrutiny, any evidence of the truth or justice of their assertions. For ourselves, we believe he was not inferior in abilities or learning to most of his contemporaries in the same sphere of life.

We have already shown his mind to have been strongly imbued with that dread of religious toleration, which characterized the age in which he lived. But a more enlarged liberality than pervaded Christendom in his time, has been the standard by which writers of a subsequent period have judged his character; as if his elevated position in the Colony should have enabled him to catch and reflect back the coming light of knowledge, long before it had fallen on the rest of mankind. He was undoubtedly a severe magistrate — but his severity was ever tempered with a love of justice; — and his veneration for christianity and its institutions eminently qualified him for a good one. It has

[1] Hutchinson.

been remarked by a recent writer, that "Governor Endecott was undoubtedly the finest specimen to be found among our Governors of the genuine Puritan character — of a quick temper, which the habit of military command had not softened, of strong religious feelings, moulded on the sterner features of Calvanism; resolute to uphold with the sword what he received as Gospel truth, and fearing no enemy so much as a gainsaying spirit."[1] "He was a very virtuous gentleman," says a chronicler of the events of that day, "and was greatly beloved of the most as he well deserved."[2] — "In his public and private relations," says the Annalist of Salem, "he was a man of unshaken integrity. For my country and my God was the motto inscribed upon his motives, purposes and deeds. That he had his imperfections, there is no doubt. But that he exhibited as few of them under his multiplied duties, as the most excellent of men would in his situation, is equally correct. His many exertions for the prosperity of Salem, and his ardent attachment to it, should impress his name and worth upon the hearts of its inhabitants, so long as its existence continues."

Thus lived and thus died, one of the principal founders and firmest pillars of New England. The generation of those hardy men who settled the Massachusetts Colony, was now rapidly passing away. Higginson, Winthrop, Dudley, Skelton, Palfrey, and a long list of New England's earliest pioneers, had already preceded Endecott to the tomb. They were men singularly well adapted to this important and arduous enterprise. It was truly said of them by Stoughton, that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choise grain over into this wilderness." All the circumstances of their condition served to implant in their minds

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[1] Hubbard's Edition of Belknap's Amer. Biog., 3, 166. [2] Morton's N. E. Memorial.

an inextinguishable love of independence, and fit them to become the founders of a great republican empire.

As the Governor drew near the close of life, how proud must have been his reflections, and how must his heart have swelled with delight, as he looked back upon the line of time and called to his recollection the day of his first landing in Salem with his little band of Pilgrims; and then followed in his mind the gradations by which this little band expanded itself into an important Colony! — had already risen and was still rising into consequence in the estimation of the whole world! While he reflected, too, that ever since the days of their feebleness, and depression, when the wing of pestilence overshadowed their dwellings, and famine scowled around their little village, he had borne an influential and prominent part in every measure that had been devised to promote the public good — that the Colony had so far, as it were, grown up under his immediate care and supervision,[1] we can scarcely conceive of the high souled satisfaction which must have hallowed and crowned his latter days. He had seen his most sanguine and cherished hopes more than realized — the barren wilderness rejoice and blossom as the rose. The events of the last thirty or forty years must have appeared to him scarcely less than miraculous, and with Simeon of old, he must have been ready to exclaim, "Lord lettest now thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes hath seen thy salvation."

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[1] "After the death of Mr. Dudley the Notice and Respect of the Colony fell chiefly on Mr. John Endicot, who after many services done for the Colony, even before it was yet a Colony, as well as *when he saw it grown into a Populous Nation, under his Prudent and Equal Government*, expired in a good old age, and was Honourably interr'd at Boston, March 23, 1665." — *Mather's Magnalia*, p. 18.

At his decease he left a widow and two sons; — the elder son left no children; — the younger was a physician and resided in Salem. He was twice married, and a family of five sons and five daughters survived him. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Winthrop, and widow of the Rev. Antipus Newman, of Wenham.

There exists a perfect genealogy of the Governor's family, and his posterity have now reached the ninth generation. It is the general impression that all bearing the name of Endicott in this country are descended from him. This is a mistake. There were families of "Indicotts" distinct from his, who resided in Boston and its vicinity some time previous to 1700. The two names probably had the same origin, though the orthography is so entirely different. Of these, there was a "John Indicott," Warden of the King's Chapel, and a man of some consequence, in 1691; "Gilbert Indicott," yeoman, of Dorchester, born in 1658; and a "William Indicott." They were contemporary with Governor Endecott's grand children, but were not derived from him. Gilbert and William left many descendants, who now reside in Dedham, Canton, and the south part of Massachusetts; also in Connecticut; and are daily spreading themselves over other portions of the country. Some still retain the same orthography as their ancestors, while others have changed it to Endicott, which has led to the prevailing error. What connexion, if any, existed between their ancestor or ancestors and Governor Endecott, is uncertain. It is not, however, improbable that they emigrated to this country under his patronage, and that they were in some way connected with him. The Governor and all his descendants to the third generation (1724,) spelt their names Endecott; since then an *i* has been substituted for the *e* in the second syllable.

In New England, the male descendants of Governor Endecott became, at one period nearly extinct. In 1738, seventy-three years after his death, there were living only a great-grandson, named Samuel, and his children. The father of Samuel died about 1695, leaving him an only son, but seven years of age. As it resulted, the succession of his male descendants in New England depended on this child, all others having failed in male issue. Samuel, therefore, became the common ancestor of all bearing the name in New England, who are the descendants of the Governor. Joseph, the youngest son of the Doctor, and grandson of the Governor, emigrated to New Jersey in 1693, where he died in 1747. Some of his descendants are now living in that State.

There is an original portrait of the Governor extant, in possession of one of the family, taken the year he died. By this we learn that his countenance was open, energetic and independent, possessing much individuality of expression, and in perfect harmony with the character of the man.[1] According to the custom of the age, he wore moustaches, and a tuft of hair upon his chin. The likeness, in many respects, is thought to be wonderfully preserved, among many of his descendants, at the present day.

And now our task is done. We have endeavored only to perform what we considered a filial duty to our first American ancestor, who spent the most valuable part of a long life in the service of his adopted country, and fulfilled the high trusts committed to his care

[1] The miniature likeness which accompanies this Memoir, was engraved from this portrait, and presented by the family to the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston, at their solicitation.

with an honesty of purpose, and a fidelity that knew no fear; having for his reward, far above all earthly distinctions, the approval of his own conscience in a life well and usefully spent. If we have succeeded by these various details, in enabling his posterity to form their own judgment of the merits of his character, which we had believed was not sufficiently understood or rightly appreciated, we have accomplished all our aim in the undertaking, and received an ample recompense for our labour.

"To say," remarks an able writer, "that the fathers of New England were not faultless, is merely to say that they were men; to say that they established no institutions, the object of which was to bind the consciences of their successors, is praise as just as it is high. If they adhered with undue tenacity to their own opinions, and failed in charity towards those who differed, they at least left their posterity free, without any attempt to secure before hand the control of minds in other ages by transmitted symbols and tests. Above all, it may deserve thoughtful enquiry, before we condemn the founders of New England, whether a class of men less stern in their principles, and austere in their tempers, could have accomplished, under all the discouragements that surrounded them, against all the obstacles which stood in their way, the great work to which Providence called them, — the foundation of a family of republics, confederated under a constitution of free representative government. There is every reason to believe, great and precious as are the results of their principles, hitherto manifested to the world, that the quickening power of those principles will be more and more displayed, with every leaf that is turned in the book of Providence."

It has been proudly said, "no nation or state has a nobler origin

or lineage than Massachusetts." Nothing can be truer. None but the loftiest and purest motives could have induced our ancestors to struggle with the stern climate and sterile soil of New England. There was no gold mine, or "El Dorado" to allure them. No tropical luxuriance to supply their wants by the spontaneous productions of nature. They could promise themselves no exemption from toil and suffering. — "In the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat bread," was sure to be their portion on this side of the ocean. In these days of our prosperity, there is little to remind us of the struggles and hardships of that forlorn hope of humanity who first landed upon these shores. We can have no realizing sense of it. From this very fact, I fear their posterity, who are now reaping the fruits of their principles and sacrifices, are too apt to forget the debt of gratitude which is due to their memories and their virtues. It is the pride of England to trace their ancestry back to the Norman Conquest, to the vassal Chiefs who followed in the train of the Conqueror. But New England traces her origin back to a far nobler conquest — that of principles over tyranny and oppression:

"Among *our* sires no high born chief
Freckled his hand with peasant gore,
No spurred or coronetted thief
Set his mailed heel upon the floor;
No! we are come of nobler line,
With larger hearts within the breast,
Large hearts by suffering made divine —
We draw *our* lineage from the *oppressed*."

APPENDIX.

The last Will and Testament of John Endecott, Senior, late of Salem, now of Boston, made the second day of ye third Moneth called May, 1659. as followeth:

I, John Endecott, being (through the grace and mercy of God) at this present in health, and of a sound memory, doe make this my last will and testament as followeth:

Imprimis — I give to my dear and loving wife, Elizabeth Endecott, all that my farme, called Orchard, lying within the bounds of Salem, together with the dwelling house, out houses, barnes, stables, cow-houses, and all other buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining. And ye. orchards, nurseries of fruit trees, gardens, fences, meadow and salt marsh, thereunto appertaining. And all the feeding ground, and arrable and pasture grounds there, both that wch. is broken up and that wch. is yet to breake up; as also all the timber trees for wood or other uses, together with all the swamps thereunto belonging or appertaining, during her natural life.

Item — I give unto her, my said wife, all my moveable goods wch. are at Boston, in the house I now dwell in, viz: — all my beds, bedsteads, bolsters, pillows, coverlids, blankets, ruggs, curtaines, vallences, and all furniture belonging to them of one kind or another; and all my carpitts, cushions, and all goods of that nature. Also I give unto her, my said wife, all my table boards, table linning, cubbords, cubbord clothes, chayres, stooles, trunks, chests, and any other goods now in my possession, viz: pewter, brasse, iron andirons, &c.

Also — I give unto her all my silver plate and spoones, of one kinde and another, and all my linnen of what sorte soever.

Item — I give unto her my said wife, all my ruther cattle of one kinde and another, as also all my sheepe; and all my wearing clothes wch. she may bestow on my children as she shall see good.

Also — I give unto her all my bookes, whereof she may bestow on my two Sonns such of them as they are capable to make use of, and the rest to be sold to helpe pay my debts.

Also — I give unto her, my said wife, my houses at Salem, and ye. grounds belonging unto them, and all the goods there wch. are mine, leaving to my wife full power to dispose of them, whether houses or goods, as she shall see good.

Also — I give unto her, my said wife, all such debts as are due or shall be due unto to mee at the day of my departure, either from ye. country or from any person or persons inhabiting in this country, or in England or elsewhere.

Also — I give unto her Cattay Island, nere Salem (wch. ye. Gen'all Court gave me) during her naturall life, and after her decease, to my two sonnes, John and Zerobable or unto the longest liver of them.

Also — I give to John Endecott, my eldest sonne, ye. ffarme wch. I bought of Henry Chickering of Dedham (wch. I formerly bestowed on him) lying within ye. bounds of Salem, and all houses and lands, whether meadow or pasture or arrable land, as it is conveyed unto mee in an indenture bearing date ye. fowerth day of the eighth month, Anno 1648. And the said indenture or conveyance is to be delivered unto him, and ye. said land with the appurtenances to be to him and his heirs forever.

Item — I give to him and my younger sonne Zerobable the whole ffarme called Orchard, to be parted indifferently between them after the decease of my said wife.

Also — I give unto Zerobable a ffarme out of the ffarme lying upon Ipswich River, containing three hundred acres, whereof fortie acres is meadow lying along ye. plaine by ye. River side next to Zacheus Gould his land, which lyeth by ye. brooke side yt. runneth into Ipsch. River at ye. furthest end of the plaine.

Item — I give unto my said loving wife, my eldest mare wch. she is wont to ride on, and her eldest mare foal.

Item — I give unto my sonne John Endecott ye. horse coult yt. now runnes with the mare.

Also — I make my wife sole and only executrix of this my last Will and Testament, and doe desire yt. Elder Penn and Elder Coleborne will be the overseers of this my last will, and if God shall take either of them out of ye. world, that ye. longest liver of ym. hath hereby libertie wth. my wife's consent to choose another overseer unto him.

And whereas ye. Gen'all Court hath given unto me ye. fowerth part of Blocke Island, I doe hereby bequeath it unto my said wife to help pay my debts withall, if I dispose not otherwise of it before I dye.*

Item — I give to my two sonnes, John and Zerobable ye. two ffarmes I bought, ye. one of Capt. Traske, ye. other of Capt. Hawthorne, lying upon Ipswich River, next adjoining to my ffarme upon ye. said River.

Item. — I give all ye. rest of ye. lands belonging to my ffarme upon the said River wch. is not disposed of, to my two sonnes John and Zerobable, my eldest sonne to have a double portion thereof, also I give unto John Endecott and Zerobable all ye. land wch. was given me by the two Sachems of Quinebaug, my eldest sonne to have a double portion thereof.

Item — I give unto my grandchild John Endecott, Zerobable his sonne, ten pounds, wch. is to be paid him when he is one and twenty years of age.

Also — Ye. land I have bequeathed to my two sonnes in one place or another, my will is yt. ye. longest liver of ym. shall enjoy ye. whole except ye. Lord send ym. children to inherit it after them.

Item — I give to Mr. Norrice, Teacher of the Church at Salem XLs, and to Mr. Wilson, Pastor of Boston XLs, and to Mr. Norton, Teacher XLs.

Item — I give to ye. poore of Boston ffower pounds to be disposed of by ye. Deacons of ye. Church.

Jo: Endecott, [and a seal.]

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* July 17, 1660. Gov. Endecott sold it to John Alcock of Roxbury — pr deed Registry Deeds, Suffolk.

This is a True Copie of an Originall paper produced before the Generall Court 11 Oct. 1665 and remaines on file.

Attest EDW: RAWSON, Sec'y.

So much of the foregoing will as excluded the wife of his eldest son from receiving any benefit or support from his portion of the estate in case she should survive her husband, was set aside by the General Court in May, 1666, as contary "to the reall intent of the above said John Endecott, Esqr. deceased, who had during his life speciall favour and respect for her," and she was permitted to enjoy the income and improvement of her husband's portion during her natural life.

ERRATA.

It is stated on page 108, that "there exists a perfect genealogy of the Governor's family;" — this was intended to apply to his descendants in New-England. Of the New-Jersey branch the genealogy is not complete.

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